

Historical Dictionary
of
MOZAMBIQUE

Mario Azevedo



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by
Mario Azevedo

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EDITOR'S FOREWORD

Mozambique is one of Africa's larger countries and, bordering on South Africa, it is very strategically placed. Yet, for various reasons, it is one of the least well known. It was formerly a Portuguese colony, cut off from contact with the rest of Africa and the outside world. And even what was known appeared most often in Portuguese. Since independence, it has been ruled by a regime about which little is known and whose ideological orientations have aroused more controversy than curiosity.

Nonetheless, Mozambique is going to be an increasingly important participant in African events. It is well located along the eastern coast with excellent ports that service not only its own trade but that of neighbors. It possesses many natural resources and an active population that can again develop agriculture and commerce and one day create an industrial base. With the situation in southern Africa finally improving, the future is considerably more promising than the past has been. This justifies continued efforts to learn more about it.

The purpose of all the African Historical Dictionaries has been to help fill the tremendous gaps that still remain in our knowledge of Africa not so much through original research as collecting the existing material, presenting it systematically and directing readers toward more detailed sources. This dictionary will be crucial given the exceptional difficulty in studying Mozambique. Of particular interest here are the entries on contemporary affairs and the comprehensive bibliography including works in Portuguese and other languages.

This volume was written by Mario Azevedo, presently Chair of the Afro-American and African Studies Department at The University of North Carolina at Charlotte. Professor Azevedo was born in Mozambique and lived there until 1965, when he left as a refugee. He has since followed events very closely, writing extensively on this and other African countries. In so doing, he has become one of the leading authorities on Mozambique.

Series Editor
Jon Woronoff

PREFACE

Acknowledgments

I wish to thank the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, the Southern Regional Education Board, and the African Studies Center at the University of Florida at Gainesville, all of which provided me with funds for the completion of this manuscript. Likewise, I acknowledge the contribution of Dr. Gwendolyn Spencer Prater, Chair and Professor, Department of Social Work at Jackson State University, who assumed some of my academic responsibilities while I was doing research at the University of Florida, and the work of Jon Coyle, history major at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, who assisted me with the research and the drafting of part of this project. Other persons to whom I owe thanks include Carol Albert, of Gainesville, Florida, who helped me with the preparation of the bibliography, Roberta Duff, my dedicated secretary at the University of North Carolina, and Yvette Bratton, education major at the University of North Carolina, who typed parts of the manuscript.

I cannot neglect mentioning my family--Ernestine Azevedo, Margarida and Linda Azevedo--for the understanding, the patience, and the unconditional support they showed while I was preparing the manuscript. Last but not least, I wish to express my gratitude to the personnel and staff of the Overseas Historical Archives and the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa in Lisbon for their assistance during my three research periods related to the completion of this project.

A Note on Spelling

For the benefit of the English reader, the book maintains the English spelling except where a translation from the Portuguese or Mozambican languages does not yet exist. However, in the case where recognizable terms or expressions such as Companhia do Niassa (Nyasa Company) and Companhia de Moçambique (Mozambique Company) are used, the corresponding English or Portuguese spelling is kept. Following independence, which occurred on June 25, 1975, the FRELIMO government altered several of the geographical designations as well as street names to reflect African tradition, history, and

culture. To avoid confusion in the reader's mind, the author uses the old designations--for example, Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) and Vila Pery (now Chimoio)--whenever reference is made of the period previous to independence, while usage of the new terminology alerts the reader that the discussion refers to the post-independence era, particularly after 1976. Finally, the Portuguese spelling of the colony's former capital, Moçambique (1815-1907), is maintained throughout the book as a way to easily differentiate the city from the colony itself.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AGRO-ALFA	Empresa Estatal Maquinaria Agrícola
ANC	African National Congress
ANFRENA	Agência Nacional de Frete e Navegação
AP	People's Assembly (Assembleia Popular)
AVICOLA	Empresa Nacional Avícola
CAIL	Complexo Agro-Industrial do Limpopo
CAJU	Empresa Nacional de Caju
CARBOMOC	Empresa Nacional de Carvão de Moçambique
CC	Central Committee
CEI	Casa dos Estudantes do Império
CFM	Empresa dos Caminhos de Ferro de Moçambique
CHCH	Companhia Hidroelectrica de Cabora Bassa
CICOMO	Companhia Industrial de Cordoarias de Moçambique
CIFEL	Companhia Industrial de Fundição e Laminagem
CITM	Centro de Informação e Turismo de Moçambique
COGROPA	Comércio Grossista de Produtos Alimentares
CONCP	Conferência das Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas
COREMO	Comité Revolucionário de Moçambique
COSERU	Comité Secreto da Restauração
CTT	Correios, Telégrafos e Telefones
DETA	Direcção e Exploração de Moçambique
DG	Dynamizing Groups (Grupos Dinamizadores)
DGS	Direcção Geral de Segurança
DIMAC	Distribuidora de Materiais de Construção
ECOME	Empresa de Construções Metálicas
EMMA	Empresa Moçambicana de Malhas
EMOCHA	Empresa Moçambicana de Chá
EMOSE	Empresa Moçambique de Seguros
ENACOMO	Empresa Nacional de Exportação
ENCATEX	Empresa Nacional de Calçado e Têxteis
ENHM	Empresa Nacional de Hidrocarbonetos de Moçambique
ENT	Empresa Nacional de Turismo
EQUIPESCA	Empresa Moçambicana de Apetrechamento da Indústria Pesqueira

FASOL	Fábricas Associadas de Oleos
FNLA	Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola
FPLM	Mozambique People's Liberation Forces
FRAIN	Frente Revolucionária Africana para a Independência Nacional (das Colónias Portuguesas)
FREITLIN	Front for the Independence of East Timor
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
HIDROMOC	Empresa Estatal de Hidráulica
IMA	Indústria Moçambicana de Aço
IMBEC	Importadora de Bens de Consumo
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INTERELCTRA	Empresa Distribuidora de Equipamento Eléctrico e Electrónico e Componentes
INTERFRANCA	Lojas Francas de Moçambique
INTERMAQUINA	Empresa de Comércio Externo de Equipamentos Industriais
INTERMECANO	Empresa Nacional de Importação e Exportação de Veículos Motorizados
INTERMETAL	Empresa Distribuidora e Importadora de Metais
INTERQUIMICA	Empresa Moçambicana de Importação e Exportação de Productos Químicos e Plásticos
KANU	Kenya African National Union
LA	Liga Africana
LAM	Linhas Aéreas de Moçambique
LNA	Liga Nacional Africana
MAC	Movimento Anti-Colonialista
MAGMA	Empresa Nacional de Minas
MANCO	Mozambique African National Congress
MANU	Mozambique African National Union
MECANAGRO	Empresa de Assistência Técnica ao Equipamento Agrícola
MEDIMOC	Empresa Moçambicana de Apetrechamento de Indústria Pesqueira
MFA	Movimento das Forças Armadas
ML	Metical
MLSTP	Movimento de Libertação de São Tomé e Príncipe
MNR	Mozambique National Resistance Movement
MOCARGO	Empresa Moçambicana de Cargas
MORECO	Mozambique Revolutionary Council
MPLA	Moviment Popular da Libertação de Angola
NESAM	Núcleo de Estudantes Secundários Africanos de Moçambique

OJM	Mozambican Youth Organization
OMM	Mozambican Women's Organization
OPV	Voluntary Police Organization
OPVDC	Organização Provincial de Voluntários e Defesa Civil
OTM	Organização dos Trabalhadores de Moçambique
PAIGC	Partido Africano de Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde
PB	Polítburo
PESCOM Internacional	Empresa Moçambicana de Importação e Exportação de Produtos Pesqueiros
PRE	Programa de Reabilitação Económica
PRM	Rádio Clube de Moçambique
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
SADCC	South African Development Coordination Conference
SONAREP	Sociedade Nacional de Refinação de Petróleos
SONEFE	Sociedade Nacional de Estudos e Financiamento de Empreendimentos Ultramarinos
SWAPO	South-West African People's Organization
TAP	Transportes Aéreos Portugueses
TTA	(Empresa Nacional de) Transporte e Trabalho Aéreo
UDENAMO	União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UNAMI	União Africana de Moçambique Independente
UNAR	União Nacional Africana da Rombézia
UNITA	União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labor Association
ZANU	Zimbabwe African National Union
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZIN	Zona de Intervenção do Norte

CHRONOLOGY

4000 B.C.	Mozambique inhabited
100-1000 A.D.	Bantu migrations to Mozambique
1450	Death of King Mutota of Makaranga
1480	Death of Matope, King of Mwenemutapa
1490	Changamire King of Mwenemutapa
1494	Death of Changamire at the hands of Kakuyo Komungyama who dominated Sena
March 2, 1498	Vasco da Gama's arrival at Mozambique Island
1502	First Portuguese trading center at Mozambique Island
1506	Degredado Antonio Fernandes's penetration of interior of Manica e Sofala in search of gold. Contact with the Makaranga
1509	António de Saldanha appointed Captain of Sofala and Mozambique (until 1512)
1513	End of dynastic war between Changamire and Makaranga; victory of Changamire (allied to the Quiteve, Torwa and Manica)
1521	Diogo de Sepulveda appointed Captain of Sofala and Mozambique (until 1525)
1530	Arabs expelled by Portuguese from Sena (trading center built)
1541	Francis Xavier disembarks at Mozambique Island, where he stays for six months (until 1542)

- 1544 First Portuguese trading center at Quelimane; it becomes a center for slave trading to Brazil
- Lourenço Marques explores Sofala coast up to Baía do Lago
- 1549 The Portuguese have forts at Mombasa, Moçambique Island, Quelimane, Sena, Tete, Catembe and Inhambane
- 1550 Dominicans establish themselves at Sofala, Mombasa and Zambezia
- February 5, 1560 Jesuit priests Gonçalo da Silveira and André Fernandez and Brother André da Costa arrive at Mozambique Island from India
- 1563 Pope Pius VI creates the Ecclesiastical Administration of Mozambique and Sofala
- 1571 Failure of Francisco Barreto's expedition
- 1573 Death of Francisco Barreto. Defeat and massacre of Antonio Cardoso and his expedition by the Abarue in Chicoa. End of first expedition to Mwenemutapa
- 1574 Second Portuguese defeat by Mwenemutapa at Manica
- 1593 Portuguese troops from Tete and Sena defeated by the Zimba. Construction of Fort Jesus at Mombasa. Punitive expedition against the Zimba from Mozambique Island, totally decimated by the Zimba. Free gold commerce in Mozambique.
- 1595 The Captain of Sofala and Mozambique receives monopoly over all commerce
- 1599 First prazos acquired by individual soldiers and merchants along the Zambezi
- 1607 Battle between Matuzianha of Barue and Mwenemutapa Gatse Ruese, who enjoys Portuguese assistance. Barue victory, and gold mines still elusive.
- 1610 Matuzianha's defeat by a Portuguese

expedition from Mozambique Island and
Sofala at Magide Cochena

- January 21, 1612 Dismemberment of the Church in Mozambique
from the jurisdiction of the Archdiocese of
Goa by Pope Paul V with see at Sena
- 1614 Two forts built at Chicó by Diogo Madeira
- 1623 Death of Gatse Ruese, who had allowed the
Portuguese to enter his reign and establish
commercial relations
- 1641 First ships from Brazil to Mozambique in
search of slaves
- 1660 Mombasa taken by Oman Arabs
- 1671 Mombasa, Quelimane, Sofala, Inhambane and
Zambezia open trade to all Portuguese
(closed again in 1683)
- 1684 Changamire's victory over Mwanemutapa at
Maungo. (His children take refuge at
Tete.)
- 1685 Establishment of the Companhia de Moçam-
bique (Real Companhia do Comércio de
Moçambique) limited to commerce between
India and Moçambique (dissolved in 1699)
- 1716 Establishment of Lumbo feitoria
- March 16, 1728 Fort Jesus, Mombasa, occupied by the
Portuguese (last time until April or Novem-
ber 1729)
- 1732 The Dutch are out of Lourenço Marques
- 1736 The Dutch expelled from Lagoa Bay by
Africans
- 1750 Fifteen crown prazos in Quelimane, 29 in
Sena, and 59 in Tete
- 1754 Slaves destined for French islands--Macua:
370, Mújao: 150, Sena: 250, Sofala: 80,
Inhambane: 150
- April 5, 1758 Suicide of Captain-General of Mozambique,
João Manuel de Mello (embezzlement sus-
pected cause)

1759	Jesuits expelled from Portugal by Marques de Pombal. (Nine Jesuits leave Mozambique.)
1775	Revolt of Arabs at Inhambane. (Portuguese execution of several mutineers.)
1782	Lourenço Marques Praesidium destroyed by fire
1807	Mozambique Provisional Government presided by Bishop de Olia (until 1809)
1813	Execution of António José da Cruz (or Joaquim Vicente da Cruz) for betrayal of a Portuguese expedition to Mwenemutapa
1818	Fifth provisional government of Mozambique, presided by the bishop of Mozambique (until 1819)
1822	Praesidium assaulted by Africans residing in Lourenço Marques, assisted by the Nguni and the Swazi; Cardona, its governor, killed
1824	Establishment of the Companhia Commercial de Lourenço Marques with monopoly over the slave trade in the area
1830	Revolt and defeat of Soliman Agi; cheikh of Quitangonha
1832	Prazos abolished (in theory)
1833	Lourenço Marques assaulted by "Landins" and the Nguni. Guards massacred.
May 31, 1834	Law abolishing religious orders
	Nguni paid chiefs of Machacana, Moambe, Maputo, Matola and Encolene to attack Praesidium of Lourenço Marques
December 10, 1836	Slavery abolished by decree of Sá da Banderia
1841	Caetano Pereira's (Choutama's) rebellion against the Portuguese in Zambezia
1844	Inhaude (Joaquim José da Cruz) builds headquarters at Massangano

1849	The governor of Inhambane District, Captain Pereira Chaves, killed in combat with the Africans
1853	Beginning of war against the Pereiras by the Portuguese (Portuguese defeat)
1856	Death of Soshangane; his son Mawewe, succeeds. Capital transferred to Bilene, further south.
November 27, 1857	Charles et George incident
1863	Return of Sultan Mussa Quanto, defeated at the mouth of Angoche in 1861
1869	Fourth expedition against the Bonga
July 24, 1875	French President MacMahon renders a favorable decision to Portugal on the Lagoa Bay dispute
May 1877	Cheikhs and other African authorities told by Governor-General Carvalho de Menezes of end of slavery and slave trade
1878	Revolt of chiefs Nhabide, Zavala, Mindu and Quissico, allied to Muzila
1879	First telegraphic lines laid in Mozambique between Tangalene, Mozambique Island and Lourenço Marques
October 27, 1880	Prazos declared Crown property
1881	Jesuits return to Mozambique
1884	Revolt of Massingire against the Portuguese
1885	Death of Muzila, who had moved the Nguni capital back to Châmite. Gungunhana installed King; capital moved to Manjacaze.
1887	Portuguese victory (assisted by the people of Massinga, Yinguane, Hlavanguane and Zunque of Inhambane) over Gungunhana at battle Chicunquesa
December 8, 1889	Macololo subdued by Serpa Pinto and João de Azevedo Coutinho
January 11, 1890	British ultimatum to Portugal

February 12, 1891	Concession to Companhia de Moçambique Franciscans arrive in Mozambique
May 20, 1892	Concession to Companhia da Zambézia
1893	Concession to Companhia do Niassa
July 1, 1895	Inauguration of first rail line in Mozambique (Lourenço Marques - Pretoria). First telephone line in Mozambique (Lourenço Marques).
December 28, 1895	Arrest of Gungunhana by Mouzinho at Chaimite
July 20, 1897	Maguiguana, Gungunhana's successor, defeated and killed by Mouzinho de Albuquerque
April 1, 1898	Concession to Companhia do Búzi Lourenço Marques declared the capital of Mozambique
August 8, 1898	Concession to Companhia do Boror
1902	João de Azevedo Coutinho, accompanied by 4,000 troops, subdues the Barue resistance
1904	Sociedade Agrícola do Madal given a chart
1907	Salesian priests arrive in the colony
1909	WNLA receives monopoly over worker recruitment in Mozambique. (It recruits 75,000 miners.)
May 24, 1910	Angoche Arab Cheick defeated by Captain Massano de Amorin
1912	First secondary school in Mozambique (known as Liceu Nacional in 1919)
1913	Lay "Civilizing" Brigades introduced
1916	Portuguese troops recover Quionga from the Germans
1919	Monfortin priests arrive in Mozambique
January 1, 1920	Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., gets concession

1921	Law forbidding sale of liquor to Africans north of Save River
1922	Organic Statutes for Mozambique. Inauguration of Trans-Zambezia railway (from Sena to Malawi).
December 6, 1928	Code of Work for " <u>Indígenas</u> " promulgated
September 11, 1928	Approval of the Mozambique Convention in Pretoria
1929	Nyasa Company extinct
1930	Concessions to monopolistic companies abolished
1933	Establishment of Negrophile Institute, later known as Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique
1936	DETA creation
1937	First technical school in Lourenço Marques
September 4, 1940	<u>Bula Solemnibus Conventionibus</u> of Pius XII abolishes Mozambique Prelacy and institutes the Dioceses of Beira, Nampula (Tete, Inhambane, Quelimane, Vila Cabral and Porto Amelia became dioceses in the 1950s and 1960s)
1946	Mozambique divided into the Provinces of Manica e Sofala (Beira and Tete districts); Sul do Save (Lourenço Marques, Gaza, Inhambane districts); Zambezia; Niassa (Nampula, Lago and Cabo Delgado districts)
1947	Strikes at the Lourenço Marques docks; Xinavane massacre of Africans by the Portuguese
1948	Strike at Lourenço Marques harbor: 200 Africans arrested, most of whom are deported to São Tomé
1949	Eduardo Mondlane and Mozambique students establish the Núcleo dos Estudantes Secundários Africanos de Moçambique (NESAM)
1954	Mozambique has three deputies in the Portuguese National Assembly

Mozambique divided into the following nine provinces: Lourenço Marques, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica e Sofala, Tete, Zambezia, Moçambique, Cabo Delgado, and Niassa

União Maconde de Moçambique founded, precursor of União Nacional de Moçambicanos Africanos (MANU) in Kartoum

1955	Establishment of the Institute of Tropical Medicine of Mozambique
1956	President General Craveiro Lopes visits Mozambique
	Strikes at the Lourenço Marques docks
1959	Marvin Harris criticizes forced labor in Portuguese colonies
June 16, 1960	Mueda massacre
October 2, 1960	Establishment of União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO)
June 25, 1962	Frelimo founded in Dar-es-Salaam
September 23-28, 1962	Frelimo First Congress, Dar es Salaam
September 25, 1964	Armed struggle begins
July 20-25, 1968	Frelimo Second Congress, Machedje
February 3, 1969	Assassination of Eduardo Mondlane
May 9-14, 1970	Fourth Session of Central Committee elects Samora Machel as new President
March 4, 1973	OMM First Conference
April 25, 1974	Coup in Portugal
September 7, 1974	Lusaka agreement between Portugal and Frelimo; settlers take over radio in Maputo
September 25, 1974	Frelimo dominates Transitional Government
June 25, 1975	Independence
July 24, 1975	Nationalization of health, education, law, funeral practice

February 3, 1976	Nationalization of rented property; capital renamed Maputo
February 11-27, 1976	Eighth Session of Central Committee sets policy for transition to socialism
March 3, 1976	Sanctions against Rhodesia imposed
October 3-12, 1976	Co-operatives seminar
November 10-17, 1976	OMM Second Conference
February 3-7, 1977	Third Congress
November 1977	Elections for People's Assemblies
February-November 1978	Frelimo Party membership drive
August 1978	Joaquim de Carvalho dismissed as Agriculture Minister
August 1-4, 1979	Council of Ministers declares 1980-90 the "decade of victory over underdevelopment"
December 4, 1979	President Machel's health speech
December 17, 1979	Lancaster House Agreement ends Zimbabwe liberation war
March, April 1980	Government reshuffle: two Party secretaries to work full time on Party; new Health Minister
March 26-31, 1980	OMM Third Conference
April, May 1980	Elections
June 16, 1980	Metical introduced as new currency
August 1980	First post-independence census
November 27-28, 1980	First SADCC conference, Maputo
January 30, 1981	South African commandos raid the Maputo suburb of Matola
March 4, 1981	Alleged CIA agents expelled
October 6-9, 1981	People's Assembly approves ten-year plan
October 14, 1981	White man later identified as South African soldier killed trying to mine railway

October 29, 1981	Bridges carrying road, railway, and oil pipeline from Beira to Zimbabwe sabotaged
March 4, 1982	President Machel appoints provincial military commanders to strengthen fight against MNR
May, June 1982	Meetings with "the compromised" (collaborators)
August 17, 1982	Ruth First, South African anti-apartheid journalist, assassinated
January 11, 1983	Resumption of summary public executions of captured MNR men
April 10, 1983	First public floggings
April 26-30, 1983	Fourth Congress
May 21, 28, 1983	Government reshuffle, including new Agriculture Minister; two Politburo members given additional tasks; other changes in security and economic ministries
May 23, 1983	South African planes bomb the Maputo suburbs
July-September 1983	"Operation Production" expels unemployed from cities
December 20, 1983	Ministerial level talks between Mozambique and South Africa in Switzerland
February 1, 1984	Floods displace thousands of people, 100 people killed
February 20, 1984	Mozambique and South Africa sign security pact
March 16, 1984	Nkomati Accord signed
October 3, 1984	Pretoria Declaration
January 6, 1985	Electricity restored to Maputo after four days of blackout
March 8, 1985	Frontline leaders call Nkomati Accord a failure, blaming South Africa

March 11, 1985	Frelimo announces series of economic liberalization measures
March 16, 1985	IMF first loan (\$45 million) to Mozambique
August 28, 1985	Zimbabwe and Frelimo troops assault Gorongosa
September 19, 1985	President Samora Machel visits United States
October 19, 1986	Machel dies in Tupole airplane crash
November 3, 1986	Joaquim Chissano named President of Mozambique
March 23, 1987	Paulo Barbosa, Renamo official, defects to Mozambique (FRELIMO)
October 13-16, 1987	Mozambique officials attend Vancouver Commonwealth meeting
November 6, 1987	Mozambique downs Malawi airline over Ulongue, killing two senior Malawi Congress Party officials
June 24, 1988	Frelimo announces return of expropriated property to Catholic Church
September 11-12, 1988	Pieter B. Botha visits Mozambique
September 18-20, 1988	John Paul II visits Mozambique
November 1990	Government announces democratic reforms
December 1990	Partial cease-fire announced by FRELIMO and RENAMO, and International Commission established to oversee partial cease-fire
January 10, 1991	Fighting resumes

TABLE I

POPULATION AND AREA OF MOZAMBIQUE BY PROVINCE

PROVINCE	District	Population			1980 Area (Square Mile)		1987 Area Sq. Mi. Sq. Km	
		1950	1980	1981	1987			
Niassa	Niassa	259,769	514,000	534,664	1,109,900	50,000	31,802	82,625
Cabo Delgado	Cabo Delgado	492,582	940,000	977,600	1,136,700	32,000	29,231	76,709
Nampula	Nampula		2,402,000	2,498,808	1,187,000	31,000	25,492	68,618
Zambezia	Zambezia	560,483	2,500,000	2,600,000	756,900	40,000	23,807	61,661
Tete	Tete	435,731	831,000	884,240	544,700	39,000	9,944	25,756
Manica	Manica & Sofala	592,941						
	Manica		641,000	666,848	2,837,900	24,000	31,508	51,606
	Sofala		1,065,000	1,107,808	607,700	26,000	49,529	129,056
Inhambane	Inhambane	565,340	997,000	1,037,504	1,267,700	26,000	26,262	58,018
Gaza	Gaza	578,074	990,000	1,030,536	981,300	29,000	35,890	100,724
Maputo Province			491,000	511,472	2,952,200	10,000	40,544	105,008
Maputo City			755,000	785,512	1,006,800		232	602

Sources: Comissao Nacional do Plano, Mocambique: Informaço Estatística, 1980-81, 1982; Britannica World Data, 1988, p. 662
and Joseph Hanslon, Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (London: Zed Press, 1984), p. 275; Allison Butler Herrick et
al., Area Handbook for Mozambique (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), pp. 43-45, 48-50.

TABLE II
POPULATION GROWTH IN MOST IMPORTANT CITIES

	Lourenço Marques	Mozambique	Inhambane	Quelimane	Sena	Beria	Ibo
1860			3,300	3,500			1,540
1865	1,100						
1872	2,670						
1875		7,000			3,200		2,500
1891	3,700					700	
1899		1,890					
1900		10,000					
1907						2,000	
1908	9,849	4,780	1,285				
1910	16,000		6,480			3,400	
1929	14,000*						
1940			27,000		24,644		

TABLE III
INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION
(in 1,000 Metric tons)

<u>PRODUCT</u>	<u>1984</u>
Raw sugar	39
Frozen fish	11.7
Sulphuric acid	0
Nitrogenous fertilizers	0.5
Soap & detergent	14.6
Motor gasoline	90
Distillate fuel oils	140
Residual fuel oils	190
Cement	110
Electric energy	1,945 (million KWh)

Source: Adapted from Africa South of the Sahara (London: Europa Publications), 1988, p. 712.

TABLE IV: FOREIGN TRADE OF MOZAMBIQUE (in million U.S.\$)

January-December	1985									
	Exports					Imports				
Prawns	33					Food	121			
Cashew nuts	12					Other consumer goods	45			
Tea	2					Crude oil & products	69			
Cotton	5					Electricity	6			
Petroleum products	--					Machinery & transport equip.	--			
Total, incl. others	76					Total, incl. others	424			

TRADE OF MOZAMBIQUE WITH MAJOR TRADING PARTNERS (in million U.S. \$)										
January-December	Imports to					Exports from				
	Mozambique from:					Mozambique to:				
	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1981	1982	1983	1984
Singapore	45	19	19	12	35	23	Italy	34	40	21
USA	88	56	31	26	17	20	West Germany	23	26	11
Mexico	--	1	--	--	--	19	Zimbabwe	17	24	5
Japan	27	22	16	14	15	18	Thailand	6	7	16
Indonesia	17	18	17	18	12	12	France	80	67	49
Spain	4	15	9	3	7	7	USA	35	26	20
France	10	10	6	6	2	6	Portugal	34	68	63
Saudi Arabia	1	6	25	8	7	5	Sweden	23	22	18
Portugal	18	15	16	10	6	3	UK	25	25	44
Thailand	--	1	1	2	5	3	Japan	15	18	24
West Germany	14	12	13	5	4	3	Netherlands	42	14	16
UK	11	18	12	12	9	2	Algeria	33	92	12
Netherlands	13	14	10	6	3	1	Malaysia	10	10	20
Jordan	27	23	--	--	1	1	UAE	91	21	18
Italy	3	3	4	1	--	1	Bangladesh	49	35	14

Source: The Economist Intelligence: Tanzania and Mozambique, No. 1, 1988, p. 43.

TABLE V

MOZAMBIQUE EXTERNAL TRADE
(million escudos or million meticals)

<u>Imports</u>		<u>Exports</u>	
1969	7,481 <u>esc.</u>	1969	1,080 <u>esc.</u>
1971	9,636 <u>esc.</u>	1971	4,613 <u>esc.</u>
1974	11,741 <u>esc.</u>	1974	7,559 <u>esc.</u>
1977	10,568 <u>esc.</u>	1977	4,909 <u>esc.</u>
1980	23,200 <u>met.</u>	1980	11,817 <u>met.</u>
1981	25,783 <u>met.</u>	1981	13,115 <u>met.</u>
1982	31,573.7 <u>met.</u>	1982	8,655.3 <u>met.</u>
1983	25,517.4 <u>met.</u>	1983	5,286.6 <u>met.</u>
1984	22,903.3 <u>met.</u>	1984	4,060.5 <u>met.</u>
1986	21,937.1 <u>met.</u>	1986	3,198.3 <u>met.</u>

Sources: Adapted from Africa South of the Sahara (London: Europa Publishers), 1979-80, p. 708; 1983-84, p. 597; 1988, p. 713 and Britannica World Data, 1988, p. 662.

TABLE VI

MOZAMBIQUE TRADING PARTNERS (1949-1979)
(Percentage of Export Value)

<u>Year</u>	<u>Portugal</u>	<u>South Africa</u>	<u>Britain</u>	<u>U.S.</u>	<u>Germany</u>	<u>India</u>	<u>Southern Rhodesia</u>
1949	30.0	6.0	2.7	2.7	3.0	--	2.1
1951	34.8	5.3	2.0	6.1	4.9	--	1.6
1953	41.6	13.8	3.4	4.8	--	--	--
1954	41.5	5.9	3.4	6.0	3.5	--	3.7
1955	43.8	6.4	8.2	6.1	3.6	8.3	3.8
1956	40.2	5.5	8.1	5.5	3.3	9.0	3.4
1957	42.3	5.3	7.2	4.0	3.4	13.5	5.2
1958	45.0	3.4	7.7	4.2	--	12.5	--
1960	48.0	2.9	7.7	5.8	2.4	9.2	3.8
1965	37.0	11.0	5.0	5.0	4.0	--	--
1973	36.0	10.0	6.0	14.0	3.0	--	--
1979	15.0	5.0	6.0	24.0	2.0	--	--

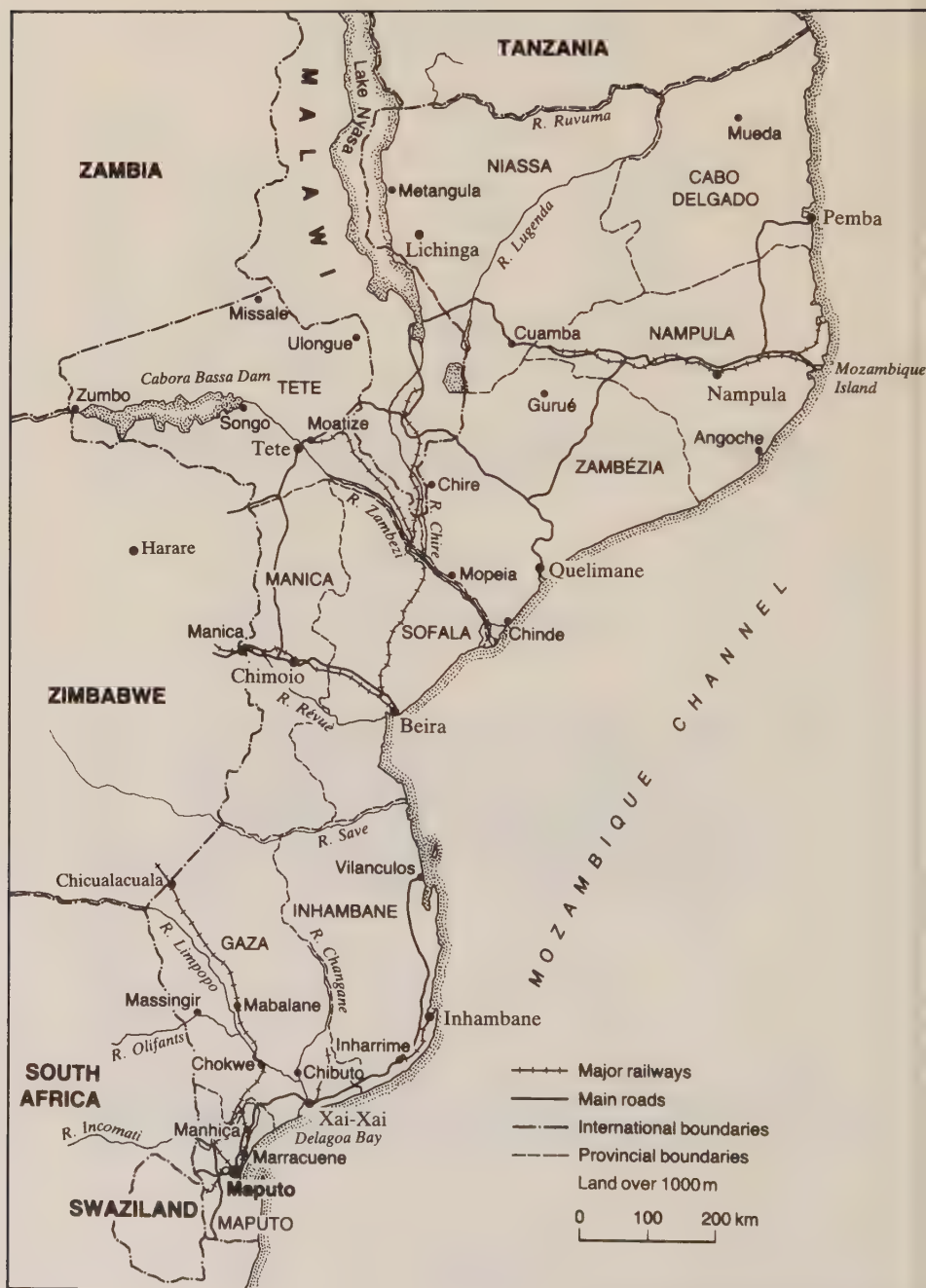
Sources: Adapted from Allen Isaacman, Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution, 1900-1982 (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1983), p. 49; and Joseph Hanlon, Mozambique: The Revolution Under Fire (London: Zed Press, 1984), p. 282.

TABLE VII
BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

CURRENT ACCOUNT, TRADE INVISIBLE, & CAPITAL ACCOUNT
(in 1,000 escudos or 1,000 meticaís)

1956	-1,220,900 <u>esc.</u>
1966	-2,655,000 <u>esc.</u>
1976	-5,081,000 <u>met.</u>
1986	-18,739,000 <u>met.</u>

Sources: Adapted from Africa South of the Sahara (London: Europa Publishers), 1975, p. 568; 1988, p. 717; Britannica World Data, 1988, p. 662; and Allison Herrick et al., Area Handbook for Mozambique (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 237; Africa Contemporary Record (London and New York, Rex Collins and Africana), 1969-70, p. B365, 1971-72, p. 456, 1972-73, p. B490, 1973-74, p. 540.



INTRODUCTION

Location

The People's Republic of Mozambique, until 1975 a Portuguese colony, is located in Southeast Africa and shares borders with the following countries: South Africa and Swaziland in the south; Tanzania in the north; Malawi and Zambia in the northwest; and Zimbabwe in the west. Mozambique has an area of 303,037 square miles (799,390 sq. km), is 1,120 miles long, and has a coastline of some 1,737 miles (2,470 km). Its longest distance from east to west is 380 miles. Located south of the Equator, it encompasses the area between latitude 10° north and 26° south, and longitudes 30° west and 42° east. Its westernmost area comprises the region where River Luganga intercepts parallel 15° on the Zimbabwe border, while in the east it includes the area between meridian 30° and 40°51' east of Greenwich. Its easternmost point is found at Ponta Jana, on the Mozambique Channel.

Climate

The climate of Mozambique is tropical, but its temperatures and rainfall vary from region to region. Mozambique has essentially two seasons, wet and dry. The wet season begins around October and ends in March, while the dry season occurs between April and September. The rainy season experiences an average rainfall of 16 to 48 inches (41 to 122 cm), 80 percent of which occurs between November and March. The temperatures remain at an average of 68° F (20° C) during the dry season, although in the months of July and August temperatures may fall below 30° F. During the wet season, particularly in January, the temperatures, averaging 80° F (27° C), may go as high as 100° F in Tete Province. The interior highlands experience cooler temperatures. As one moves towards the coast, the rainfall decreases. Mozambique's tropical climate is responsible for its various endemic diseases including trypanosomiasis (sleeping sickness) in the central and northwestern part of the country, malaria, schistosomiasis (bilharziasis), leprosy, tuberculosis, and hepatitis.

The coastal areas tend to be warmer due to the warm current of Mozambique Channel which flows south from the vicinity of the Equator. The central coastal line, from Quelimane to Beira, experiences

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high humidity and heavy rainfalls, with an annual average of 55 inches at Beira and 48 inches at Quelimane. South and north of this central line the rains and humidity decrease, the southern coast averaging 35 inches of rain and the northern coast about 24 to 48 inches annually.

The inland areas, because of their varied geographical conditions, do not have a uniform climate and rainfall. In general, the north experiences what is called a tropical monsoon climate, which has relatively high temperatures. While the Zambezi basin and valley experience a drop in rain averaging between 16 and 24 inches annually, the Manica and Sofala Provinces bordering Zimbabwe have the highest rainfalls, averaging 64 inches a year, and are endowed with a cool climate. Both here and at other highlands such as those found in Angonia, Vila Cabral (Lichinga), and former Vila Pery (Chimoio), the temperatures turn cold during the wet season and, therefore, constitute an ideal habitat for people and animals. Malarial mosquitoes and tse-tse flies are unable to breed in these high altitude regions.

The south has been characterized as a subtropical anti-cyclonic zone. It is drier than the rest of the country, averaging 12 inches of rain a year. Droughts are common here, although cyclones have caused the rivers to flood outlying areas. Temperatures vary between 65° F and 80° F, the latter constituting the most common.

Physical Features

Mozambique is a moderate high plateau, decreasing in altitude from the hinterland to the Indian Ocean. The Great Rift Valley passes through the southern portion of the country, creating lowland swamps south of Beira. Two-thirds of the country are coastal low-lying fertile areas, while the remainder is intersected by a series of highlands. In the north, some portions of the plateau reach an average of 7,890 feet, the highest peak being the Namuli mountain (8,200 feet). In the northwest, the Angonia district has sharp highlands, while the Manica Plateau highlands near the Zimbabwean border reach the height of 3,000 feet. The central Gorongosa highlands climb up to 6,125 feet above sea level. The southwest is dominated by the Libombo Mountains, marking the frontier between Mozambique and Swaziland.

Mozambique is endowed with some twenty-five rivers, almost all running from north to south and emptying into the Indian Ocean. The largest and longest, and therefore the most known, rivers are the Rovuma, Lurio, Ligonha, Zambezi, Pungue, Buzi, Save, Limpopo, Nkomati, and Espirito Santo (Lourenço Marques). These rivers provide fertile land for farming, which constitutes the most important occupation of the people of Mozambique, who produce corn, millet, cassava, cashew nuts, coconuts, sugar cane, copra, tea, tobacco, sisal, rice, and citrus fruits. Also, the long coastline has several ports, three of which--Maputo, Beira, and Nacala--have acquired

international significance. Mozambique has several lakes (particularly in Gaza and Inhambane), although the most significant ones, Nyassa, Chiuta, and Shirwa, are located on the border with Malawi.

Mozambique has fertile soil, particularly on the highlands and along the river valleys. Yet some areas, such as Tete Province, are so arid that people struggle continuously to survive. While occasional flooding, particularly along the Zambezi and Limpopo valleys, displaces thousands of people, it is drought that has intermittently caused severe famine during the last ten years. While swamps abound along the coast, most of the interior holds tropical forests and extensive grasslands which support several species of wild animals (elephants, lions, leopards, rhinoceroses, crocodiles, hippopotamuses, giraffes, zebras, gazelles) and domesticated livestock (cows, pigs, goats, and donkeys).

Timber is abundant in the country, and coal in central Mozambique is the most extracted mineral. Other minerals which have been tapped include beryl, columbo-tantalite, microcline, bauxite, montmorillonite, asbestos, gold, mica, copper, bismuth, lepidolite, and tourmalines. Prospecting for petroleum has continued since the late 1940s, but so far no major breakthroughs have taken place.

Population

The population of Mozambique has grown by leaps and bounds during the second half of the twentieth century. Official figures show its progression: 5,738,911 in 1950; 7,300,000 in 1967; 8,168,933 in 1970; 11,673,725 in 1980; 13,426,604 in 1984; and 14,516,000 in 1987. The projection for 1990 is 15,696,000 and 20,463,000 for the year 2000. From a density of fewer than 22 inhabitants per square mile in 1967, the population reached a density of almost 47.8 per square mile in 1987.

The densely populated areas are found in the northern and southern coastal flatlands, where people live in farming villages. As expected, cities have always been natural points for the convergence of people, lured by educational and employment opportunities and activities accelerated by the existence of railways, harbors, and roads. During the colonial period, urban centers also constituted the focal point of the European population. Lourenço Marques (Maputo), the colonial capital, for example, was and still is the largest population center, with almost one million inhabitants. The city's growth has been stimulated by an excellent harbor, a railway system, and a number of paved roads. Beira, with its excellent port and railroad system, has seen its population grow tenfold, from 25,000 in 1964 to 269,000 in 1988. The population of Quelimane, a swampy area but an important trading center, more than doubled, from 20,000 in 1964 to 50,000 in 1988. The population of Nampula, because of rail facilities linking the city to the port of Nacala, grew from 103,985 in 1964 to 182,000 in 1988. Similar accelerated growth has occurred in

the Tete-Moatize area, whose economic activities have been spurred by coal mines and the railroad that links it to the port of Beira.

During the mid-1980s, rural population was estimated at 86.8 percent of the total population of Mozambique. FRELIMO has attempted to slow the tide of urban immigration by setting up communal villages and by moving unproductive and unemployed people and settling them in the so-called "green zones" away from the cities. (Similar policies were implemented unsuccessfully in Tanzania.)

Due to its tropical climatic conditions and the lack of adequate health facilities, Mozambique has low life expectancy and high infant mortality rates. Its birth rate, however, is among the highest in the world. The birth rate is estimated at 45.1 per thousand (29.0 world average); the death rate is 19.7 per thousand (11.0 world average); and life expectancy at birth is 44.4 years for males and 46.2 years for females. The Mozambique population is extremely young at present, as the following figures demonstrate. Under 15 years of age: 44.4 percent; 15-29 years: 26 percent; 30-44: 15.9 percent; 45-59: 8.7 percent; 60-74: 3.6 percent; and 75-over: 0.7 percent (Britannica World Data, 1988).

The male population is outnumbered by the female population at the ratio of 48.81 percent to 51.19 percent, respectively. These numbers must be taken cautiously, because they are most likely an underestimation. For example, thousands of males, some of whom are unaccounted for, cross the frontiers annually to seek employment in South African mines (an average of 45,000-50,000 each year during the 1980s) and in Zimbabwe and Zambia. Furthermore, large numbers of refugees, forced by civil war and famine (250,000 in the most recent years), flee into neighboring Zimbabwe, Tanzania, and Malawi.

The Portuguese population, which by 1974 numbered 200,000, has been reduced to fewer than 20,000 as a result of the end of Portuguese rule in 1975 and the economic policies of FRELIMO. The Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR) has also slowed down the return of other Portuguese citizens who may have had roots in the former colony. Overall, the war and the drought have displaced some 500,000 Mozambicans, most of whom are homeless.

People

Linguistically, Mozambique societies belong to the Bantu-speaking group. Anthropologist Antonio Rita-Ferreira has so far provided the best classification of the country's ethnic composition which includes the following major groups and sub-groups:

The TONGA are the second largest ethnic group in Mozambique (2,775,000). They are an offshoot of the Zulu and have occupied the extreme south, namely, Gaza Province, since the nineteenth century.

They migrated from farther south and defeated the original settlers--the Chope and the Bitonga--during the early part of the nineteenth century. Once settled in Mozambique, the patrilineal Tonga lived isolated from the neighboring ethnic groups with whom they constantly battled for territory and cattle. Prior to the colonial period, they had a chief or king who wielded absolute political, religious, military, and judicial authority, although a council of elders assisted him. Affiliation to the ethnic group was determined by obedience to the chief and not necessarily by the mere accident of birth. The Tonga are known as good farmers, who also do well as merchants.

The RHONGA people are a sub-group of the Tonga and inhabit parts of Maputo, Marracuene, Matola, Manhica, and Sabie. Both the Tonga and the Rhonga constantly defied Portuguese authority around Lourenço Marques during the nineteenth century. The SHANGANA, also a sub-group of the Tonga, who intermarried with the invading Nguni, live in Bilene, Magude, parts of Sabie, Chibuto, and Guija. The TSWA (Tsua), likewise related to the Tonga, inhabit the region that extends from the Limpopo to the Save Rivers and parts of Mossurize and Sofala. They are well known for their practice of late circumcision (ages ten through twelve) and initiation rites as well as for their practice of burying their chief inside the village, in his own house, while interring the common people in the cemetery.

The NGUNI, who number more than a million, live in southern Mozambique, in Gaza, and around Maputo. They are cattle-raisers. They speak a dialect of Zulu, and the use of the "click" shows their contact with the Khoisan and the Xhosa. The Nguni Nkosi (Lord) used to hold absolute power and was the commander-in-chief of the army. The Nguni people observed a strict social and military hierarchy based on age.

The SWAZI are considered to be a sub-group of the Nguni and live in Namaacha, some twenty-five miles from Maputo. They migrated from their original home, Swaziland, during the twentieth century.

Some Portuguese anthropologists prefer to call the SHONA, who number about one million, Caranga, because they are associated with the culture of Zimbabwe and the empire of Mwenemutapa. They live south of the Zambezi (in Zimbabwe) and north of Save River. During the nineteenth century, the Nguni invaders disrupted the unity of the Shona and contributed to their dispersion. Unlike the Nguni, the Shona do not practice initiation nor do they have circumcision for boys.

The ABARUE, who live in the Barue region with its center at Vila Katandica, have been classified as a Shona sub-group. Barue clans seem to include the Choko, the Tembo, the Makate, the Chikware, the Mucatu, the Chilendje, and the Nyanguru. From the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, the Abarue were governed by powerful

kings known as Macombe, who fiercely resisted both Nguni and Portuguese subjugation.

The ATEWE and the MANHICA are also a sub-group of the Shona and live in Manica and Sofala Provinces. Both sub-groups seem to be descendants of the Rodzi people who, led by Chief Changamire, defeated the original settlers, the Wazamoi. Manhica and Atewe main clans include the matrilineal Nyantaza, Nyampisi, Chiwawa, Mwanya, Chirumba, Banda, Marunga, Chilendje, Tembo, and Makat. Interestingly enough, among these clans a woman could be elected chief, but she would be killed or deposed as soon as she had her first child, who, if male, would succeed her to the throne.

The NDAU (Vandau), another Shona sub-group, are also said to have come from Rodzi country and became militarized by the Nguni, who incorporated them into their regiments. The Shanga (Machangana), the Gova, the Danda, the Watombodji, and the Zezuru (of Zimbabwe) may be classified as Ndaou clans.

The CHOPE, considered to be among the earliest inhabitants of Mozambique, are a small group and live in Inhambane and Gaza Provinces. The early Chope nucleus is believed to have come from two clans: the Nkumbe and the Vilankulu. According to oral tradition, Nkumbe, the founder, was related to the people of Inhambane and migrated from the north. Vilankulu, on the contrary, originated from the southwest and was related to the Thonga. The Vilankulu were the masters of the art of weaving and of the African piano, the mbila, a legacy they transmitted to the Chope. The VALENCE and the BITONGA are Chope sub-groups. The Chope and Bitonga combined comprise about 600,000 people.

The matrilineal MACONDE live on the plateau of Cabo Delgado Province and numbered 175,000 in 1970. The MUERA, a group closely related to the Maconde, live on the Muera or Rondo plateau, while the MAVIA, a sub-group of the Maconde, live south of the Rovuma river on the Mavia plateau. (These areas and plateaus were once devastated by Arabs in search of slaves and by the Nguni during the nineteenth century.) The Maconde are farmers, hunters, fishermen, and warriors.

Little is known about the origins of the matrilineal MACUALOMWE, also known as the Alolo by the Ajaua and Nguni. They are the largest ethnic group in Mozambique, numbering 5 million. They live in Zambezia, Niassa, and Cabo Delgado Provinces. In the past, they were organized into several political units headed by a chief who wielded considerable political and military power. Most Macualomwe have been Islamized.

The AJAUA (about 250,000 in 1970) inhabit Niassa and Tete Provinces. Some Ajaua live in Malawi. In the distant past, the Ajaua were hunters, but now they are farmers. They were also engaged in the slave trade, and most of them have converted to Islam.

The MARAVI (numbering about 270,000) are said to have migrated from the Congo Confederacy in the year 1500, following a succession dispute within the Undi dynasty. They followed Karonga, the king's nephew, who entered Mozambique and settled in the area which is now known as Vila Gamito in Tete Province. They are divided into small political units, each with its own chief, and comprise the following subgroups: the NYANJA (40,000), who live in Niassa and Tete Provinces, around Lake Niassa, in Chire, and Mutarara; and the CHEWA, who occupy the areas of Capoche and Angonia, where they mixed with the Chipeta, the Zimba, the Macanga, and the Tsenga.

The SWAHILI of Niassa Province live along the northeastern coast from the mouth of the Ligonha to the Rovuma Rivers. They are famous for their trading skills and not for their resistance to Portuguese penetration. Most of them are Muslims.

Mention must be made of the small lower-Zambezi groups (as Rita-Ferreira calls them), who number 1,200,000. The heterogeneous CHICUNDA live in the Zambezi valley, Chire, and Luanga. The patrilineal CHUABO comprise the Boror, the Maganja, and the Mahindo. The SENA live in Chemba, Murraca, Cheringoma, Sena, and Mutarara. The Tembo, Chilendje, Makate, Mambu, Chawu, Muweru, Mbadzo, Nyangombe, Simboti, and Dwanwo are also part of this vast cluster of small ethnic groups.

The TAWARA inhabit Chicoa, Cachomba, Mague, and Changara in Tete Province. Known as good weavers, they consider their chiefs to be descendants of the great Mwenemutapa. The TONGA (not connected with the Rhonga or the Thonga of southern Mozambique) live in Mungari and Mandie near Vila Catandica and Tete city.

Little is known of the DEMA, the ATANDE, the GOVA, and the PEMBE who live in Capoche and Mucanha. The better-known patrilineal ANYUNGWE inhabit both margins of the Zambezi River but are concentrated in the Tete district. They seem to be the hybrid of the Maganja and the central Tonga. They live from fishing, agriculture, and livestock. The PODZO live around Marromeu and comprise the following clans: Chinde, Mbadzo, Botha, Zinjo, Sase, Chilendje, Malunga, Bande, Simboti Nyangombe, Chifungo and other smaller groups.

Finally, it must be noted that Mozambique is also the home of some 20,000 Indians from India (particularly from former Goa, Damao e Diu), Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Indians tend to be merchants and petty traders and live in the big cities with stores scattered throughout the country towns. Fewer than 5,000 Chinese business people have made Mozambique their permanent home.

History

The history of Mozambique prior to the fifteenth century is based mainly on circumstantial evidence derived from archaeological discoveries in East Africa and the scarce written sources indirectly related to that part of the continent. From these anthropological and archaeological sources, it appears that the area later to be known as Mozambique was inhabited as far back as 400 B.C.

Most of the Bantu-speaking populations of Mozambique, however, reported to have originated in the Cameroon-Congo-Nigerian plateaus and forests, had settled permanently in this area during the first millennium A.D. They brought with them superior technology based on iron and the lifestyle of settled farmers. Their superior weapons and agricultural tools enabled them to overcome any resistance offered by the original settlers (who were pastorals and fruit-gatherers) and to maintain a prosperous life of agriculturalists.

As was common in East Africa before European arrival, Mozambicans lived in relatively small communities led by a chief or kinglet who theoretically owned all land and exacted from his people tribute in the form of crops, weapons, ivory, elephant tusks, and work. In most cases, however, his authority was not absolute. He made his decision in consultation with counselors who represented their villages. At the time the Portuguese arrived in Mozambique, Central Mozambique was loosely linked with two major political entities: the kingdom of Mwenemutapa in present Zimbabwe and the Confederation of Malawi. Ever since the seventh century, the coastal area, including Sofala, was controlled by Arab and Swahili aristocracies and traders who had mingled with the Bantu-speaking population and adapted to the area's prevailing culture. While the north by and large accepted Islam, the rest of Mozambique remained predominantly traditional until the Portuguese introduced Christianity, which even today has remained the religion of a minority in the country.

The overall social and political evolution of Mozambican societies was drastically altered by the arrival of the Portuguese during the fifteenth century. The Mozambique we know today began as a series of trading centers (*feitorias*), administrative posts, and military forts at the onset of the Portuguese encounter with the Africans. Venturing the winds and the high waters and defying peoples of unknown lands, the Portuguese embarked on their maritime voyages on small caravels and began, sometimes inadvertently, carving a future empire that would alter their own position in the international arena.

For over fifty years, Portuguese seamen navigated all along the west coast of Africa but did not reach East Africa and India, the major target of their voyages, until 1498. Indian spices (cloves, nutmeg and pepper) appealed to all Europeans at the time. In 1447, for example, Dom João II sent Pero da Covilhã and Afonso de Paiva on a sea and land mission not only to reach India but also to look

for the famous Christian king erroneously known as Prester John. Afonso de Paiva died en route, while Pero da Covilhã travelled through the Middle East on the Mediterranean Sea, the Persian Gulf, and reached India and then Sofala, completing his mission in Ethiopia, home of the centuries-sought Prester John--Alexander IV.

Dom João II also sent seaman Bartolomeu Dias in July 1487 in search of the promising caminho marítimo para a Índia (a sea route to India). Dias sailed past the Cape of Good Hope (previously known as the Cape of Torments) and returned to Lisbon to announce the good news to the king. Apparently, Dom João II was not impressed with this accomplishment: unsure as to whether his envoy had touched the Indian Ocean at all, the king did not reward Dias. In fact, no major expedition to India was organized as a result of Dias' voyage until ten years later, when Dom Manuel I commissioned Vasco da Gama to lead a crew of three ships--St. Gabriel, St. Raphael, and the Berrio. For almost nine months, Vasco da Gama navigated the African coast and, on March 1, 1498, disembarked at Inhambane in East Africa, which he called terra de boa gente (land of good people), and continued his voyage to Quelimane and Moçambique Island. Proceeding to Mombasa, Vasco da Gama became hostile to the Arabs, bombarded the city port, and sailed off to India where he arrived in May 1498.

At first, the king of Portugal was not interested in an economic exploration of the entire coast of Africa but wanted to open immediately a good feitoria at Sofala. For that purpose he sent the two brothers, Bartholomeu Dias and Diogo Dias, who had previously served as captains of two of Pedro Alvares Cabral's ships. To strengthen the ties with the Orient, Vasco da Gama was once again sent to India in 1502, a trip that enabled the Portuguese to continue to open the Mozambique coast and further advance their economic and religious interests.

Vasco da Gama had to fight, however, to control the Indian trade. Francisco de Almeida's expedition of twenty armed ships established Portuguese control, at least temporarily, over the Indian Ocean. To strengthen their presence in East Africa, the Portuguese built a fort at Sofala in 1505, which by 1752, with its feitoria, had a settled African and Portuguese (military) population of 10,000 and some 800 Indians. This fort (fortaleza de São Sebastião) was strong enough to defend itself in 1506 against an attack by the Arabs, who attempted to prevent the Portuguese from dominating the gold trade. Sofala elicited so much hope of economic gain that it became known in Portugal as a porta do ouro (the door to gold), and its first captain, Pero de Anaia, promised that Portuguese commercial interests would be safeguarded even through the force of arms.

In 1505, Duarte de Mello also occupied the island of Mozambique, while, in 1508, Vasco de Abreu built a fort there (replacing the old fortaleza Dom João de Castro). In 1558 and 1694, the forts of São

Sebastião and São Lourenço were added to the island and then re-inforced by the establishment of a dispensary, a church, and a warehouse, all of which were designed to demonstrate to the Arab traders that henceforth the Portuguese would be lords of the sea and masters of the gold, silver, and ivory trade of East Africa and India. By 1598, the Portuguese had also reached and controlled Quelimane (where they built factories in 1544), Sena (1530), Tete (1537), Angoche (1511), Quirimba (1520), Mombasa (1528)--where Francisco da Gama built Fort Jesus in 1569--and Lourenço Marques (1544), although its famous praesidium was not erected until 1791. Angoche, conquered in 1511 by a force of three ships under Antonio de Saldanha, boomed, attracting some 12,000 inhabitants and "frontiersmen" usually called sertanejos in other Portuguese colonies.

In general, by 1540, the Portuguese had wrestled the control of the trade away from the Arabs and established several trading centers, Tete and Sena being the most important ones. Even though they had driven their Muslim competitors out of the region, however, the Portuguese did not enjoy the anticipated abundance in the flow of gold from the interior to the coast.

Elsewhere, adventurers such as degredado António Fernandes for the first time penetrated the Zambezi interior up to Zumbo in search of gold. Consequently, no power or merchant, including the Dutch, could challenge Portuguese supremacy in East Africa and India during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. To encourage conquest and trade, Mozambique captains received a three-year monopoly over commerce from the metropolis, although they could bestow similar privileges upon others. The captains paid a certain amount of trade items to the viceroy of India, who in turn, at least until 1752, forwarded them to the king of Portugal. The captains enjoyed nominal control over the feiras, to which a confeitor (a trader or supervisor) and an escrivão (a scribe) were assigned either by the metropolis or by the viceroy of India himself. The captain had the power over the whole coast as far south as the Cape of Good Hope and, beginning in 1600, he could forbid any merchant from trading. (Non-licensed Muslims were barred from trading along the Zambezi.) Likewise, the captain was authorized to search and confiscate licenses and goods. An attempted revolt by coastal merchants to prevent this monopolistic control of trade in 1593-1594 ended in failure. Besides gold, items of trade exchanged at the feitorias included: clove, ivory, silver, cotton cloth, glass, porcelain, beads, and brassware, with guns and gunpowder becoming more common during the sixteenth century.

In 1635, the government developed a colonization scheme to protect the feitorias and improve commerce. Two hundred households with craftsmen, farmers, priests, doctors, and pharmacists from Portugal would leave for Mozambique. The plan did not quite materialize as it was earlier conceived, but several settlers, soldiers, craftsmen, and engineers left for Mozambique and founded the town of

Quelimane in 1640. In 1677, five ships loaded with farmers, artisans or craftsmen, miners, court judges, treasury officials, soldiers, engineers, one physician and a surgeon-mor, along with eight female orphans destined to be married, left Lisbon for Mozambique and settled in Sena. Although the colonists received complete freedom of commerce, the experiment did not succeed due to settler inexperience and the hostile climate.

Tete turned out to be an important town (vila) with its rivers, especially the Cuama (the Zambezi River) in 1761, when it registered a population close to one hundred Portuguese and African Christian families. The successful establishment of Tete led to the creation of the vila of Zumbo, entrusted to Captain João Pedro da Silva Baía. In Zumbo, too, the Portuguese established an important feira on the right bank of the Zambezi. Likewise, Manica flourished as an important feira, although it soon declined because of the "selfish profit motives" of the captain-mores and the soldiers.

During the 1650s, the slave trade slowly took precedence over the other trade commodities of the feitorias. In 1673, the government announced that only the captain could control the flow of gold in the colony. This development contributed to the demise of the Companhia do Comércio da Índia established in 1633 and the weakening of other mercantilist enterprises in the colony.

Portuguese control over the East African coast was short-lived. In fact, by the end of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese commercial "empire" had declined, unable to defend itself against African and Arab incursions in areas such as Angoche, Inhambane, and (Alta) Zambesia, while the Dutch caused havoc along the coast. Axelson notes that Mozambique remained the only captaincy intact, but with a reduced population, as trade activity began to decline. Quelimane was left with "156 thwarted houses at most with 6 or 7 whites, living mostly from coconut plantations," whereas Luabo had no civilian or military Portuguese residents "except two Jesuits and a few mulattoes." A few priests traded in Sena, but the town's population was reduced to 30 people (20 whites), while Tete had no more than 15 to 20 residents "all living from trade." In Sofala, 15 white residents did their "utmost to survive, while Inhambane, without a single Portuguese resident, was visited once a year by a ship with soldiers who would jump ashore to do some trading in ivory and amber." In spite of this deplorable state of affairs, however, "South-East Africa was still the brightest jewel in Portugal's Indian Crown" (Axelson).

Defying the odds, however, the Portuguese believed that they had found an institution that would eventually vindicate their colonial experiment—the prazo. Prazos were land-holdings or estates authorized during the seventeenth century by the Portuguese Crown. Vast properties along the Zambezi valley, from Quelimane to Tete, were entrusted to Portuguese settlers. The government expected

that the prazeros (prazo owners), who had to be Portuguese citizens, would guarantee Portuguese sovereignty in the area, cultivate the land, pay a quit-rent (foro) to the national treasury, and facilitate the task of the few Portuguese troops stationed in places such as Tete, Quelimane, Sena, and Sofala. The prazo system was expected to be an economic success which would assist toward the establishment of a cluster of trading posts and revitalize the whole valley through the exchange of silver, ivory, gold, animal skins, corn, salt, rice, millet, and other tropical products and commodities.

According to law, a prazo was to last for three generations or three lives, passing from the first prazero family to a daughter who could only marry a white Portuguese citizen. Following the death of the third prazo heiress, the estate would revert to the state, although renewal was an option often granted to the applicant. The prazo institution dominated the Zambezi Valley for more than two hundred years (1650 to 1888). In most cases, the prazeros became extremely active in every aspect of daily life, especially in local African politics. Most acquired power through manipulation of traditional authorities, sometimes allying themselves with one of the local warring factions or leaders, at other times simply overpowering militarily a chief or king. Thus, they slowly increased their domain and sphere of influence. Ultimately, the prazo system failed due to several factors including climatic conditions such as droughts and floods, scarcity of a willing labor force, recurrent warfare, African resistance to European intrusion, and absenteeism of the prazero.

The one factor that had the greatest adverse impact on the prazo system was the slave trading within the prazos. From 1806 to 1820 the ownership and exportation of slaves from the prazo increased fourfold—from 5,000 to at least 20,000. The prazeros justified the capture and the selling of Africans by claiming that the Portuguese were naturally superior to them. They further argued that the slaves would lead a better life wherever they were forced to settle. Initially, the prazeros sent their private armies into the interior to capture hundreds of Africans and force them into slavery. As it became more difficult to secure significant numbers of slaves in order to meet the demand, however, the prazeros turned to the colonos and prazo settler achikunda (slave troops), who generally lived on the prazos, to satisfy the demand of Brazilian slavers, notwithstanding the fact that the law forbade the selling of slaves living on the prazo. The traffic in human lives led to rampant unrest on the estates. Africans who escaped slavery usually moved away from the prazo to avoid the activities of the slavers, although the lands they were forced to inhabit and cultivate were generally less productive. In their wake, slavers destroyed villages, plundered agricultural fields, and took the most productive members from the Mozambican society, thus intensifying the degree of poverty and underdevelopment throughout the area. In return for the hazardous duties assigned to them, the prazo slavers continued to receive ever declining rewards, at first in the form of gold, and later in weapons and cheap commodities such as liquor, beads, and cloth.

Understandably, with the loss of a good number of reproductive males, the Mozambique societies eventually suffered a shortage of men. Thus, in spite of continuous efforts to revitalize it during the 1880s, the imposed prazo institution ultimately failed by the end of the century. It is worth noting that, at first, slavery and the slave trade were not part of the prazo institution. During the nineteenth century, however, both private and official Portuguese citizens were deeply engaged in the capture and the commerce of Africans to the extent that for the 1820-1832 period, for instance, no fewer than 50,000 slaves from Mozambique landed on Brazilian plantations. The traffic in human beings became so profitable and entrenched in the colony that Mozambique officials became infamous in the metropolis and elsewhere for resisting the anti-slavery decrees gradually promulgated by Lisbon. Thus, although the 1836 decree promulgated by Sá da Bandeira for all practical purposes eliminated slavery and the slave trade in the Portuguese colonies, Mozambique remained its last bastion, as even high authorities, including governors who received fees from the illegal traffickers, refused to enforce the laws. In fact, as late as 1881, Francisco A. P. Bayão, governor of Tete, complained that the 1836 decree had not been properly promulgated in the colony and that those who knew about it chose to ignore it altogether.

On the political level, the latter part of the nineteenth century witnessed a reversal in the attitude of the Portuguese towards their colonies, including Mozambique. When they first arrived in the colony, the Portuguese created administrative units mainly to ensure the success of trade and to protect Portuguese citizens in their voyages to India and on their sparse settlements. One can accurately posit that for centuries most Portuguese activity remained along the coast because 1) African topography and climate were usually hostile to outsiders; 2) Africans refused to give up their position as middlemen between the interior and the coast (attempts by outsiders into the mainland were met with force); and 3) The nature of the first Portuguese voyages was primarily commercial and religious rather than political. Therefore, as long as slaves, gold, ivory, and spices could be obtained along the coast of Guinea, Angola, and Mozambique, the Portuguese navigators and their government in Lisbon remained relatively satisfied.

Colonial attitudes changed, however, when external factors--such as trade competition with Britain and other powers, the anti-slavery movement, and criticism of Portuguese colonial practices revealed by explorers such as Livingstone and others during the 1870s--alerted and worried the Portuguese government. As a result, Lisbon began to show greater interest in the preservation and direct government of its colonies. It quickly established tighter administrative controls. Portugal's precarious military position in Europe heightened the fear that the colonies could be lost to another power.

Portugal at first welcomed the Berlin Act of 1884-1885 but

balked at its insistence that the principle of "effective control" of overseas territories should be the governing criteria. The Portuguese had worked a grand design--the so-called rose-colored map--to link Angola and Moçambique so that they could control the hinterland of Central Africa from coast to coast. Unfortunately, Britain severely opposed the plan through an ultimatum in 1890, after Portugal had occupied the Macololo region. Portugal capitulated and, in 1891, the two signed an agreement on their disputed territorial borders. Thereafter, political control of the overseas possessions became one of the most important preoccupations of the Lisbon government.

The fear of losing the colonies was real. Indeed, in spite of the fact that the Portuguese had held most of Mozambique for four centuries, their actual occupation was only nominal. Vast areas of the colony continued to be virtually autonomous until the 1890s, and some were not pacified until the 1920s, forcing the Portuguese to wage bloody wars against those local populations that decided to resist encroachment upon their independence and lifestyle. Until 1830, Portuguese control of the colony in the north was limited to the littoral Tongue Bay, including the islands of Cherimba and Moçambique, continental Mossuril and the Cabeceiras (Angoche continued practically independent under powerful sultans with roots in Zanzibar until the 1890s). Elsewhere in the colony, Portuguese control extended only to Quelimane, Luabo, the mouth of the Zambezi River up to Tete, Sofala, Inhambane, and from Lourenço Marques down to Inhaca island.

As one takes a closer look at the situation north, south, and center, however, one finds that until 1890 no Portuguese settlement ever experienced complete peace during the period of "reconquista" (1833-1920), except perhaps for the city of Moçambique, the first capital of the province. Even then, Lourenço Marques, Quelimane, Tete, Inhambane, and Cabo Delgado, the major towns and cities, remained insecure places, often suffering periodic African raids which spread terror and forced the Portuguese to constantly deplete their meager military resources. In particular, the Portuguese had to contend with the newly arrived Nguni in the south, the stubborn sultanates of Angoche near Moçambique city, and the Zambezi valley uprisings personified by arrogant rulers at Massangano, whose hostility "cost the Portuguese more men than all their combined campaigns" prior to the 1914-1918 period. Up to the 1850s, the towns of Tete and Sena, for example, wrote Governor of Quelimane Joaquim Pinto de Magalhães to Lisbon, continued to suffer from African revolts. He wrote, for example, that "... The government at Mozambique does not have sufficient forces to protect the town against any attempt by the Cafres [Africans]. Quelimane's commerce, the most important of the Province, has suffered enormously from the raids of these barbarians who are already lords of the best prazos of the Crown. These [barbarians] quickly became lords of Tete and Sena. Quelimane will experience a crisis in the future and suffer a major disturbance." The governor further complained that the Portuguese were too soft

toward the Africans and too patient with their chiefs. He claimed that the Africans interpreted this attitude as a sign of weakness, and noted: "The African respects only force and the powerful; to him religion or politics are defined as serving and being the slave of the strongest." The governor's assessment of the situation underscored the tenuous European military presence in the colony and the degree of Portuguese subjugation of those areas thought to be the most suited for colonization.

As expected, a major problem was the difficulty of recruiting Africans to strengthen the colonial army. Invariably, the authorities complained that Africans refused to join the colonial militia, frequently escaped during combat, refused to take active part when fighting against their own, and that when they received their uniform and weapons they vanished into the bush. Under such circumstances, the army contingent was small and the loyalty of the African soldiers to the Portuguese authorities always doubtful, a situation that made conquest and pacification extremely difficult and painful. No wonder Governor Augusto Coelho complained in 1833 that "the garrison of this province consists of soldiers recruited from India belonging to different castes of different customs and religious beliefs, of contingents from Angola, made up of the worst that exists in Africa, of Africans from different parts of this province, of few old incorrigible European soldiers and *degradados*. The Indians keep a beard, refuse to use water and eat with the Christian soldiers," he wrote, "while the Africans believe in fetishes and false principles, and the Europeans, full of vices and prone to crime, react negatively against everything."

The task of pacification was compounded by the fact that this was also the period when the Portuguese were attempting to radically alter the economy of the colony through the abolition of the slave trade, the imposition of "sound" practices and policies on the prazo system, and the introduction of a capitalist mode of production through monopolistic companies. To pacify and simultaneously chart a new economic course from a distance proved to be extremely difficult for the Portuguese. What made conquest even harder, apart from the African resistance to subjugation, was the abundance of guns and gunpowder among the Mozambican people both in the north and the south. On Quelimane, Major António Cândido Gamito wrote: "In the past, only elephant hunters had guns, but today all cafres [Africans], slaves, and the free walk with one. [Today], all African chiefs are protected by guns" which enable them to "raid, assault, rob, and kill villagers and transients." Furthermore, the use of force in the collection of taxes which were designed to increase government revenues and assert Portuguese sovereignty over the colony made pacification even more difficult. Abuses by authorities led to revolts and to further wars. Quite often, the Portuguese attempted to sign treaties, always promising one or another chief protection against his enemies, while attempting to exact from him exorbitant concessions in the form of tribute (taxes); free passage through his land; unhindered

trade for Portuguese citizens; construction of schools ("centers of civilization"), posts, or forts in his territory; and a pledge not to wage war against his enemies without Portuguese consent. In Islamic societies, the cheikh (sultan) was forced to swear on the Koran his allegiance to Portugal. These terms, which clearly favored Portuguese objectives, became sources of contention and disagreement, as was the case with the 1886 treaty the Portuguese signed with Gungunhana.

Added to these obstacles was the fact that the Portuguese quite often bestowed military titles upon many of the chiefs, a practice that forced conscientious officials to show deference to even recalcitrant chiefs and view them as legitimate military officers. (The honors bestowed upon Gungunhana following his imprisonment and the military ceremonies held at Bonga's graveside illustrate the Portuguese dilemma.) Governor-General Fernando Magalhães e Meneses, citing cases in Zavala and Magaia, complained in 1894 that military titles constituted the worst aspect of Portuguese colonial policy as it left the authorities at the whims of tyrants. He also criticized the practice of using gifts to pacify the African authorities. A policy based on patience, rewards, and titles to "drunken savages," the governor wrote, was wrong because, in his view, Africans were nothing but "animals that needed to be domesticated." Furthermore, in the north such as in Angoche, and in the south, including Inhambane, attempts to abolish the slave trade during the 1850s and 1860s caused violent uprisings and reprisals against the Portuguese and their allies.

These conditions were serious threats to Portuguese presence in the colony and compelled the officials to use whatever military force they could muster, sometimes accompanied by "terrorist" tactics such as executions, destruction of property, house burning, starvation of populations in revolt, and the distribution of weapons to trusted friends. The toll in lives for both Portuguese and Africans was high, especially in areas such as Massangano, Inhambane, Angoche, and in Macua country, particularly among the Namarrais.

Yet, until the 1930s, the Portuguese army in the colonies continued to be in a precarious situation, plagued with indiscipline and runaways. To improve the situation, a decree of November 14, 1901 created several infantry divisions (made up of Europeans only); two squadrons of dragoons (also made up of Europeans only); one battery of artillery and a garrison; and two mixed companies of European artillery and African infantry. The African troops were divided into companies under Portuguese officers and served for three years, after which time they remained on active reserve from five to eight years. On June 16, 1926, the statutes further reorganizing the colonial army stressed the absolute necessity of effectively enlisting African recruits in larger numbers. Experience, therefore, had taught the Portuguese that without eliciting the cooperation of the Africans, military victories in the colony would be difficult to achieve. Ultimately,

however, racial discrimination (notwithstanding the official colonial policy of assimilation) and the rigors of an army designed to be used against fellow Africans made the Mozambicans unreliable soldiers.

To cushion their difficult military victories in Mozambique during the 1890s and prevent other Europeans from claiming that they were unfit to develop their colonies, the Portuguese began inviting foreign concessionaire companies, of which the best known were the Mozambique, the Zambezia, and the Nyassa Companies. These companies controlled thousands of acres, were almost totally sovereign in their concessions, and enacted laws to govern the Africans living under their jurisdiction, who also became subject to heavy taxation and served as sources of cheap forced labor.

The establishment of the companies contributed to improved agricultural productivity, although not at the rate the Portuguese government had expected. Between 1910 and 1930, farm production of major export crops either doubled or tripled. For example, the almost nonexistent banana production reached 7,830 metric tons in 1930, while that of sesame stood at 4,000 tons. In 1933, sugar extraction was estimated at 95,000 metric tons, of which 83,000 tons were exported. Tobacco rose from 119 tons in 1919 to 178 tons in 1920 and to 340 in 1930 (declining, however, to 215 tons in 1933). Rubber extraction was accelerated during the 1910s and 1920s but declined rapidly prior to and after the Great Depression. Cotton proved to be a successful crop in spite of the fact that companies and individual Portuguese senhores had to force Africans to grow it. Overall, however, the economic record of the three major companies was not impressive, considering that by 1900 together they occupied two thirds of Mozambique.

Once the Portuguese had finally pacified the colony (in some areas they did not achieve this until the 1920s), they began implementing policies to ensure that Mozambique would be beneficial to the mother country. In the opinion of Portuguese intellectuals and statesmen such as Marcello Caetano, Lisbon attempted to follow the four political and administrative principles summarized below.

1. Political Unity. The official policy claimed that "Portugal is a unitary state with only one territory, only one population and only one government ... hence comes the doctrine, repeatedly emphasized, of the inalienability of any part of the territory." In other words, Mozambique was supposed to be an integral part of continental Portugal. In the spirit of this principle, the designation of colony for Mozambique was struck from official documents in 1930 and replaced by the term province. The Colonial Act of 1930 under Salazar's regime sanctioned the change. As one expert put it, "The fundamental theory behind the whole thing, with the later modifications of 1951, is that the empire is a whole, that it is a family, that the purpose is to assimilate, within the pattern of common Portuguese nationhood and ways of life, these diverse peoples." Salazar once

defended the theory of political unity when he noted: "Contrary to all machinations, we will not sell, cede, lease, or share our colonies ... our constitutional laws do not allow us." In light of this principle, Mozambique, for example, was as an integral part of Portugal as Algarve or any other province of Portugal proper.

2. The second principle has been called spiritual assimilation. The Portuguese contended that, "although respecting the modus vivendi of the Africans, [the Portuguese] ... always endeavored to impart their faith, their culture and their civilization in them, thus calling them into the Lusitanian community." Colonial theoreticians have claimed that the Portuguese never tried to impose their system on the Africans but attempted to assimilate them through "education and living together," so that those who were assimilated would always find themselves at ease even in continental Portugal. Outright spiritual assimilation was tried during the age of liberalism and immediately thereafter (1820-1910) but was abandoned because its application proved to be costly and was resented by Portuguese settlers. Instead, gradual assimilation was adopted as more realistic.

In defense of their policies, the Portuguese told the world that assimilation did not attempt to eliminate African culture. Adriano Moreira, once Minister of Overseas Colonies, wrote, for example:

Because our way of thinking throughout history has rejected racism, we also regard with due respect all the cultural forms of the various ethnic groupings.... For this same reason, our policy of assimilation should have been understood, on the political level, in terms of the creation of a will to live together, not a policy directed to mutilation of the cultural originality of the various groups that have come together under the protection of the same sovereignty.

Of course, this claim directly contradicts the policy of assimilation, which by nature was designed to mutilate cultural originality. In the same vein, Premier Salazar denied that the Portuguese had ever shown "the slightest idea of superiority or racial discrimination." He once said: "I think I can say that the distinguishing feature of Portuguese Africa ... is the primacy which we have always attached and will continue to attach to the enhancement of the value and the dignity of man without distinction of color or creed, in the light of the principles of the civilization we carried to the populations who were in every way distant from ourselves." Another Portuguese statesman put it this way: the Portuguese wanted to assimilate the Africans without "detribalizing" them.

3. The third principle established an administrative differentiation between the metropolis and the colonies in view of "peculiar circumstances" particular to the territory, such as social status and economic development, defending the proposition that, although the empire was politically one, the colonies needed specific laws of

administration. These laws, expressed in the Colonial Act of 1930, ultimately aimed at defending and protecting not only the Portuguese settlers but also the Africans themselves. Thus, from 1820 to 1910, as a reflection of the liberal revolution in Portugal, exactly the same administrative statutes of province and districts were imposed both on the metropolis and on the colonies. (The 1910 Republic discontinued the practice since it created more problems than solutions, as the following discussion will show.)

4. Economic Solidarity. The fourth principle stemmed from political unity and established a division of labor across metropolitan and colonial lines. Devising a policy of internal protectionism, the principle compelled Portugal to buy colonial goods even when their prices were higher than those of similar goods coming from abroad. In industry, economic solidarity guaranteed that industrialists from the metropolis would receive similar concessions from the colonies. One fact remained clear, however: industries in the metropolis were nourished by the raw materials from the colonies. Portugal allowed foreign companies overseas as long as they were not a threat to Portuguese sovereignty. Salazar stated the theory of economic solidarity this way: "The colonies are complementary to our economy, both as producing agents and consumer markets as well as fields open to the activity of the population."

International criticism of Portuguese policies and resistance in the colonies forced Portugal to adopt international labor laws in 1960. Labor Laws Ordinances Nos. 17,771 and Decree No. 43,637 set minimum wages and introduced the principle of freedom of contract, regulated safety in the workplace and specified acceptable health standards, and called for factory inspection in all colonies. Unfortunately, however, these laws remained alive only on paper. Eventually, Portuguese labor policies led to a rise in nationalism and guerrilla warfare in Mozambique.

The history of Mozambique is replete with violence and bloodshed, from the time the Portuguese arrived to the present day. The difference between the early and the modern resistance lies mainly in scope: while the former was local and regional, the latter comprised the whole territory; while the former was often a revolt against administrators and individual intruders, the latter was a total revolt against the Portuguese government. Thus, the strategy and tactics used by the modern independence movements differed from those of early days. Between 1930 and 1948, for example, Mozambicans did not fight with guns against the Portuguese government, as they had done in the nineteenth century. Instead, workers illegally went on strike at the docks of the capital, protesting harsh working conditions, thus signaling the covert and overt dissatisfaction prevalent in the colony. In this century the failure, contradictions, and impracticability of the four principles of Portuguese colonialism only fueled the awakening spirit of nationalism in the colony. The eventual guerrilla war waged by Africans against the Portuguese in Mozambique

directly defied not only the imperfect and inconsistent application of the aforesaid principles but also their very legitimacy. The causes that contributed to the liberation movements such as FRELIMO in Mozambique during the late 1950s and early 1960s can be classified as political, social, economic, religious, and cultural.

Politically, Portugal attempted to destroy the several traditional kingdoms and city-states in Mozambique and replaced them with an alien division of the colony into provinces under Portuguese governors-general, districts under lieutenant-governors, circumscrições under Portuguese administrators, and administrative posts under lower Portuguese officials. The process completely excluded Africans from political participation, while leaving the government in the hands of a white minority. Political gatherings were not allowed, and criticism of discriminatory practices was considered to be a crime against the nation. Following the outbreak of revolution in 1964, the mere utterance of the term independence was an act of rebellion. Meanwhile, thousands of political prisoners filled the jails and suffered all types of torture.

Portuguese presence in the colony also created new social problems. The division of the population into two polarized groups--the assimilated and the indigenous, the so-called civilized and uncivilized--was a colonial scheme to better control the population. The Portuguese defined a civilized population as follows:

A civilized population is made up of white, yellow, and mixed individuals as well as those members of the black race that satisfy the following conditions: (1) Speak Portuguese; (2) Do not practice ways and customs proper to the natives; and (3) Have a profession, are engaged in commerce and industry, or possess property for their maintenance. Those who do not satisfy these conditions are considered uncivilized.

In theory, the civilized African was a Portuguese citizen. (He was entitled to earn the same wages as a Portuguese, to work no more than eight hours a day, to enter any hotel, restaurant, or movie theater, and to travel first class on buses and trains.) In practice, however, he was treated differently. He had to carry a pass--the bilhete de identidade--and was discriminated against almost as much as the indigenous, who carried another kind of pass--the caderneta. In reality, therefore, the assimilated always remained a second-class citizen. As Anders Enmark remarked: "The Portuguese ... wanted to transform him [the African], but immediately set up obstacles as soon as such transformation threatened white dominance." In short, Portugal attempted to bestow nationality upon its subjects without conferring the privilege of true citizenship upon them.

As a result of this contradiction, Mozambique education was so neglected in the colony that only 15 percent of the population

could read and write at the time the Portuguese left Mozambique, while health care for Africans received the lowest priority.

Working conditions for Africans were extremely harsh and backward. All males were forced to work at least six to nine months each year either for the government or for a private Portuguese citizen. Although this kind of work was called contract (*contrato*), no consultation existed between the two parties, and the worker was recruited by force. Also, since 1909, thousands of Africans were forced to migrate to South Africa to work in the mines, thus undermining the well-being of the Mozambican family. The contracted laborer (*contratado*) worked as many hours as his boss (*patrão*) wished. The government rarely intervened on behalf of the African, who received his pay only at the end of his contract and was expected to pay his taxes immediately and then find his way home. Consequently, by the time he arrived home, perhaps only one fourth of his salary was left. Often, he was immediately recalled to work for the government without pay--building bridges, opening roads, or clearing new farms. The practice of forcing Africans to grow crops and products such as cotton, sisal, and sugar cane on large plantations officially ended in 1966, although it actually continued in the countryside until independence. Under the pretext of teaching Africans how to use the soil, the authorities forced them to grow certain crops which were sold as cheap as possible to the government or its companies. These practices violated international labor laws which Portugal had pledged to enforce in its colonies.

The Catholic church proved to be the government's best ally. Since most of the primary schools were under the Portuguese Catholic Church, Portuguese priests taught the Africans to think as Portuguese citizens, to obey authority without question, and to humble themselves before their white superiors. Both African religion and culture were despised by the Portuguese authorities and missionaries who, by fostering assimilation, attempted to eliminate the African heritage as inferior and savage.

The emergence of liberation movements during the 1960s radically changed the outlook of the colonial state. Anti-Portuguese fronts such as the National Democratic Union of Mozambique (UDENAMO), Mozambique African National Union (MANU), and the National African Union of Independent Mozambique (UNAMI) vowed to fight for independence rather than equality. However, as one analyst put it, "small in numbers, detached from internal bases of support, lacking a coherent strategy, and periodically engaging in divisive exile politics," the three nationalist organizations were almost powerless against the stronger Portuguese army. Realizing that, divided, the nationalist movements were doomed to fail, President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania invited the heads of the three organizations to meet in Dar-es-Salaam, settle their differences, and begin a period of mutual cooperation. President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana had also urged them to unite. Though UNAMI was not disposed to listen to the appeal, it

eventually agreed to merge with the other two movements, out of which FRELIMO was born under the leadership of Dr. Eduardo C. Mondlane, who was not a member of any of the three liberation movements.

Mondlane emerged almost as the natural leader. In his autobiography, he reveals that his father and uncle had fought in anti-colonial wars in the late 1800s. Unlike many other revolutionaries at that time, Mondlane was a highly educated man. He had attended missionary schools in Mozambique and South Africa. In 1947, he received a scholarship to attend Witwatersrand University, where he organized an anti-segregation movement and was one of the founders of the Nucleus of African Secondary Students of Mozambique, activities which contributed to his deportation back to Mozambique. Subsequently, Mondlane received a scholarship from American philanthropists and church organizations which took him to Portugal. While there, he met other militant African students from the Portuguese colonies, such as Amílcar Cabral, who was to lead the liberation struggle in Guinea-Bissau, and Agostinho Neto, who led one of the Angolan liberation fronts. Concerned with his own safety, however, Mondlane was able to convince the Portuguese authorities to let him study in the United States, where he received his Ph.D. in sociology and anthropology in 1960.

After working briefly at the United Nations and at Syracuse University, Mondlane returned to Africa at the invitation of FRELIMO. When the First FRELIMO Congress met in September 1962, its first order was to identify the enemy: "The enemy was not the Portuguese people [said the Congress], nor the Portuguese settlers in Mozambique, but the colonial system." FRELIMO knew that fighting the stubborn Portuguese government would take time and that the war, which started on September 25, 1964, would not all be won in the battlefield. Thus, the Front combined its military campaigns with an education program that emphasized the basics and the liberation of the mind. Whenever FRELIMO forces liberated an area, they also opened primary schools so that all Mozambicans would have the educational opportunity the Portuguese had denied them. In Dar-es-Salaam, the headquarters of the Front, the revolutionary leaders opened the Mozambique Institute, which helped prepare Mozambican students for college. Before they were allowed to continue their studies, however, the college-bound students had to go into the interior first and assist with the education of the people. This educational program was so successful that by 1972 the Front had created 160 primary schools in the Mozambique countryside, with an enrollment of 20,000 students taught by 250 teachers.

Another major concern of FRELIMO was the health of the people in the areas under its control. Consequently, trained militants opened several clinics in the interior and a hospital, as well as many first-aid stations in the liberated areas. The Front's greatest achievement in health care, however, was the building of the Dr. Americo

Boavida Hospital in Tanzania. It was here that the most seriously ill Mozambicans or wounded guerrilla fighters were treated. All other less serious cases were treated at first-aid centers staffed by 315 professionals.

Of all the programs, however, it was the guerrilla war waged against the Portuguese that determined Mozambique's fate. On September 25, 1964, in a northern section of Mozambique, Cabo Delgado, 250 FRELIMO militants attacked Chai, a Portuguese administrative post. Though the attack killed only one policeman and wounded only a few among the colonial personnel, the Portuguese considered it an act of intolerable treason and took swift action against the insurrectionists. But the secret police and Portuguese soldiers failed to locate the FRELIMO soldiers and had to settle for the sympathizers. The arrests, beatings, and *palmatórias* that followed did not satisfy the threatened colonialist state. Thus, in further retaliation for the attack, Portuguese soldiers went to the village of Micalo, where they murdered many innocent people. They herded the villagers into their homes and then set the houses afire; as the villagers tried to escape the burning structures, they ran into the bullets of the Portuguese soldiers waiting nearby.

The reprisals neither deterred the militants nor helped the Portuguese cause. With growing support from the Mozambican people and assisted by sophisticated weapons from Russia and China, FRELIMO rapidly expanded its liberated zones from the north into the southern portion of the country. By the end of 1973, FRELIMO had advanced farther south, coming within 400 miles of the Portuguese capital of Lourenço Marques. The advance and continuous FRELIMO victories alarmed Marcello Caetano, Salazar's successor as Prime Minister. To the surprise of the world, on April 25, 1974, several young army officers, questioning Portuguese policy and tired of fighting the colonial wars, overthrew the Lisbon government. The Armed Forces Movement (MFA), as the young officers called themselves, supported by the peasants and the working class in Portugal, eventually pledged to end the war in Mozambique and return civil liberties to the people at home and overseas. Within a few weeks, the new Portuguese government began negotiating with FRELIMO and other liberation movements, determined to find a permanent solution to Portugal's colonial wars.

The Portuguese response to FRELIMO had been a desperate one: in total they concentrated some 60,000 troops in Mozambique. The presence of the army, unfortunately, contributed to an increase in the level of colonial oppression. Ultimately, the well-organized Portuguese propaganda machine could no longer deny, as it had tried, that there was a serious war in the colonial territories. Although the Portuguese had insisted that Mozambique was an integral part of Portugal, it was a proposition they could not defend convincingly. Portugal also claimed that she had historic rights in Africa, and that she had held Mozambique under the "internationally accepted"

principle of *terra nullius*, an argument that ignored the fact that Africans had legitimate and stronger rights to their land. At the same time, Portuguese propaganda also strove to convince the world that the resistance was illegitimate because it was staged by outsiders. As James Duffy pointed out, however, these so-called outsiders were expatriate Mozambicans fighting inside their land: "The guerrilla fighter in ... Mozambique ... was an outsider in the same sense that the Frenchman who returned across the Channel with the Allied Armies in 1944 was an outsider."

However, the overriding reason for Portuguese resistance to African independence during the 1960s seems to have been economic motive. Portugal was not only the poorest country in Europe but also the most illiterate on that continent. Its economy depended heavily on the colonies. Unwilling to leave behind unlimited prospects of improving the economy of their own country by using many of Mozambique's untapped resources, the Portuguese were determined to stay in Africa forever.

World opinion in general was on the side of the colonies fighting for their independence. Since 1961, the United Nations had passed many resolutions supporting the struggle for independence and urging Portugal to withdraw from Africa. Almost every year the U.N. General Assembly reaffirmed "the inalienable right of the people of the territories under Portuguese domination to achieve freedom and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve this right." In 1970, the Assembly went a step further and endorsed the liberation movements by affirming the legitimacy of "all appropriate means" at the disposal of the African nationalists.

Unfortunately, since no binding force accompanied such resolutions, Portugal continued to reject them on the grounds that they interfered in the internal affairs of a sovereign nation. She even barred attempts by the U.N. Committee on Decolonization to inspect internal conditions in the colonies. The moral impact of the resolutions, however, constituted a heavy burden on the Portuguese, as had the widespread publicity about colonial massacres. Another international body that vehemently condemned Portuguese colonialism was the Organization of African Unity. Unfortunately, as with the U.N., the Organization of African Unity could only lend moral support and minimal financial assistance to Mozambican nationalists.

In a Catholic country such as Portugal, the position of the church was a significant factor in the success or failure of a liberation movement. The Vatican took a position of sorts only in 1970, when Pope Paul VI received the three major leaders of the liberation movements of Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau. Disappointingly, however, the Holy See never condemned outright the Portuguese government for its wars in Africa. For instance, the Pope and the *Osservatore Romano* vaguely alluded to the massacres in 1973 only as a news item. The Portuguese ecclesiastical hierarchy in the colony

was almost entirely behind the government. Thus, on August 17, 1961, the Archbishop of Lourenço Marques declared: "The mother country has all the right to deny independence even if conditions for it are ripe." He condemned the slogan "Africa is for Africans" and concluded that Africa was for all.

One of the strongest endorsements of the liberation struggle, however, came from the British Council of Churches in 1970. From a careful study of conditions in Southern Africa, the Council made its recommendations and issued certain guidelines to Christians, declaring that:

1. The Church found societies in the white governed territories of Southern Africa [including Mozambique] manifestly unjust, not only by standards that Christians would apply as a result of their allegiance to Jesus Christ, but also by the standards generally accepted in the contemporary world.
2. Peaceful means have been attempted by the oppressed people and so far have failed. International persuasion ... has failed. The failure leaves the dispossessed with no alternative to complete subjection except to attempt liberation themselves ... unconstitutional action was the only course of action.

The Council condemned Portugal explicitly and endorsed the African struggles as justified rebellions, which was tantamount to rejecting the contention that the Portuguese were spreading Christianity and European civilization in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea.

Yet, Portugal had its powerful supporters and allies in the Western hemisphere. At the U.N., France and England usually abstained from voting or vetoed resolutions against Portugal. While France continued to sell to Portugal Alouette helicopters to ensure her missile-tracking station at Azores, the British government provided moral and economic support to the Portuguese government. However, since 1970, the Labour Party in Britain had held a series of meetings on the Portuguese colonies, and many of its members condemned Portuguese colonialism. In 1971 and subsequently, some of the members even sent financial aid to the Portuguese liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies. To demonstrate to the outside world their support, British Labourites and Liberals joined together and organized a mass protest against the visit of Premier Caetano to London during the 1970s.

The United States government was opposed to the liberation movement, although private American citizens provided moral and financial support to the Africans. Except briefly during the Kennedy administration, United States official policy was crafted in such a way as to favor Portugal. The State Department announced that:

- 1) Consistent with national principles, the government believes

that all peoples are entitled to the right of self-determination; 2) The government's aim is to encourage a peaceful and equitable solution to the Mozambique problem, based on the principle of self-determination; 3) It is hoped that Portugal will be able to play a constructive future role in Mozambique and elsewhere in Africa.

Even a cursory look at these principles reveals their onesidedness and weakness. First of all, the United States knew well that peaceful means had been tried in the Portuguese colonies since the 1960s and that Portugal had rejected all calls for negotiations that would lead to a peaceful settlement of the colonial war. Portugal's intransigence, therefore, assured that there could be no peaceful and equitable solution of the type called for in the second principle. The third principle expressed the hope that Portugal would play a constructive role in Africa. If Portugal had not played a constructive role in Africa for five centuries, how could one realistically expect one now?

The United States position was not difficult to explain: Portugal was (and still is) a NATO member. Under this pretext, the United States decided to support colonialism, notwithstanding Portugal's violation of internationally recognized principles. Portugal bought weapons and aircraft from America at will, a fact well proven by guerrillas who captured or destroyed Portuguese war materiel. Furthermore, America needed to keep its air bases on the Portuguese-held Azores islands. In addition, the attitude of American business leaders towards the liberation movements was also clear: they supported the white minority regimes in Southern Africa. They basically had three concerns, namely: to make as much profit as possible from Africa's cheap labor; to ensure the stability of the governments in Southern Africa to allow investment; and to prevent the nationalization of their enterprises and assets in the African subcontinent.

After thirteen years of war in the African colonies, the Portuguese army itself unexpectedly overthrew its own government in Portugal in 1974 and initiated negotiations with the African liberation movements, which led to the independence of all Portuguese colonies in 1975.

On September 7, 1974, FRELIMO and the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement reached an agreement in Lusaka creating a transitional government to lead the colony to independence. A new wave of violence, however, greeted the independence euphoria. One day after the Lusaka agreement, a white anti-FRELIMO group, the Independent Front for the Continuity of the West (FICO), emerged with the support of some military commandos and attempted a coup. FICO captured the national newspaper headquarters and the Mozambique radio station in Maputo and destroyed a weapons arsenal and a fuel storage area on the outskirts of the city. However, the reactionary

movement failed three days later when a combined force of FRELIMO and Portuguese troops intervened to maintain peace. Thus, on September 20, 1974, Joaquim Chissano became prime minister of the transitional government. Nine months later, on June 25, 1975, Samora Moises Machel assumed the double role of president of FRELIMO and president of the new Mozambique People's Republic.

The unrest continued, however. Reactionary Portuguese citizens joined by Mozambicans who disliked FRELIMO's Marxist policies and by dislocated guerrilla fighters who had expected to play a major role in the new government mobilized against the new regime. With logistical, military, and financial assistance from white Rhodesia and South Africa, the forces opposing FRELIMO formed the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (MNR or RENAMO) in 1975. Adopting the same guerrilla tactics FRELIMO had used against the Portuguese, the counterrevolutionaries vowed to remove the Marxist government and institute "true democracy" in the country. In the decade and a half that followed, both FRELIMO and RENAMO have sought external assistance, although FRELIMO has had the upper hand in the process. The country, however, has suffered considerably. People have been displaced and their livelihood destroyed, while each side has accused the other of massacres of innocent people. Prospects for a negotiated settlement were still dim in 1991.

One of FRELIMO's most successful programs during the recent past has been the accelerated elimination of illiteracy. In contrast with the colonial state, FRELIMO was able to reduce illiteracy from 95 percent in 1975 to 75 percent by 1988. Although Africans paid taxes during the colonial period, the Portuguese spent all educational funds for the benefit of the European population. Whereas almost all children of Europeans received free education, African parents had to pay to enroll their children in school. It is also clear that African education was never a priority of the colonial state. In fact, the first decree creating a public school system in Mozambique was not published until April 11, 1845. In 1874, the colony had only 332 students, of whom only 125 were black, and had built fewer than nine primary schools. Student enrollment rose to 1,195 by 1900, while schools reached the number of 50. Likewise, the first secondary school did not emerge until 1918, located at Lourenço Marques. The first university was established as recently as 1964, after five hundred years of Portuguese presence in Mozambique.

The gigantic effort made by FRELIMO can be seen in the following figures: In 1973, for example, 666,600 children were enrolled in primary school, while 33,000 attended secondary school establishments. By 1983, however, both numbers had doubled or tripled: 1,402,541 in primary schools and 106,975 students in secondary schools. On the university level, 540 students attended the University of Lourenço Marques (now the Eduardo Mondlane University) in 1966; that number rose to 1,852 in 1983. On the other hand, the number of secondary schools rose from 20,000 in 1974 to 135,000 by 1981. Education is

free for all Mozambicans, although admission to secondary school and to university is extremely competitive, and fewer than 40 percent of the students pass the qualifying exams.

In health care services, FRELIMO's efforts have had mixed results. When the Portuguese left Mozambique in 1975, only 87 doctors were available in the country, although they had reached the number of 500 prior to 1974. The intensity of the war forced many of them to leave the colony. Yet FRELIMO was able to recruit many more doctors, the number reaching 500 in 1977. Unfortunately, the number of major hospitals has remained at ten, just as they were prior to independence, while the continuing war has contributed to a deterioration of most of them. Beds have increased from 11,200 in the 1960s to only 13,180 in 1980, and the number of nurses from 1,258 in the 1960s to 2,134 in 1980. Furthermore, Maputo city has continued to enjoy a privileged position in terms of facilities and number of doctors. For example, while the rest of the country had a ratio of one doctor per 257,500 people in the early 1980s, Maputo's ratio was one doctor per 4,450 people. Whereas all Mozambique cities combined had 128 doctors only in 1981 (50 doctors in rural areas), Maputo city had a total of 157 (of whom 111 served Maputo Central Hospital alone), despite the fact that only about 5.9 percent of the population of Mozambique live in the capital.

Although major advances in health care can only occur after a peaceful settlement of the current internal conflict is found, the government has been highly commended by the World Health Organization for its successful vaccination campaign against smallpox (altogether eliminated during the 1980s), measles, and tetanus. By 1980, the campaign had contributed to a 20 percent reduction in the country's infant mortality rate. It is fair to say that, regarding the welfare of the Africans, what the Portuguese had reluctantly accomplished in centuries, FRELIMO proved it could achieve it in less than ten years. However, FRELIMO's accomplishments should not totally obscure its handicaps and failures.

THE DICTIONARY

ACTO COLONIAL (Colonial Act). A series of colonial policies prepared by Premier Antonio de Oliveria Salazar in 1930. In 1933, they became part of the Portuguese constitution. In the document, Salazar imposes a system of centralization designed to subordinate all colonial matters to the Ministry of Overseas in Lisbon, abolishes high commissioners in favor of less powerful governors-general, and reaffirms the indigenato and the policy of limited assimilation of Africans. On the financial side, the Acto colonial viewed the colonies as primary providers of raw materials to Portugal and the Africans as nothing more than forced laborers. The Act also reasserted the "civilizing mission" of the church and its alliance with the state and envisioned an empire of "one state, one race, one faith, and one civilization."

ADMINISTRATION (Government). Mozambique underwent several metamorphoses in administrative structure and government throughout the centuries. For example, from 1505 to 1609, colonial authority was vested in a captain or a captain-general residing in Sofala. From 1609 to 1750, this authority was passed on to governors of "Mozambique, Sofala and Cunene and Monomotapa (Zambezi) Rivers." Thereafter, it was returned to captains-general in order to underscore the need to rely on military-minded individuals who would know how to defend the colony in time of emergency. Assisted by the clergy, the army, and prominent citizens, the captains collected state revenue and made military and civil appointments. In 1822, the precarious military situation dictated the appointment of military governors for the colony (which ten years later was divided into prefectures on the French model, the prefects replacing the military governors). A pattern of administrative structure for Mozambique began to emerge thereafter. In 1836, Mozambique was divided into districts, these into concelhos, with ultimate authority over the colony (or province, as it became known in the liberal constitutions of the nineteenth century) vested in the Navy and Overseas Ministry. Although the law had established the position of governor-general in 1833, only in 1836 was a governor appointed. He was assisted by a conselho do governo (governing council).

As a result of changes in colonial perceptions in the metropolis which viewed the colonies as an extension of continental Portugal, a decree of 1842-43 made Mozambique a simple department of Portugal, under the tight control of the Lisbon government. Later, in

1869, in compliance with the Rebelo da Silva Reforms, Mozambique became a province of Portugal, divided into districts and *concelhos*, with a governor-general assisted by the Junta da Fazenda, which oversaw the finances, a secretary-general, a procurator, and a *conselho governativo* (governing council) made up of the Prelate of Mozambique, the highest military officer in the Mozambique district, and the secretary-general. The governor-general's term of office was fixed at five years. In 1891, to thwart British attempts as well as those of other European governments who coveted the Portuguese empire, Lisbon made Mozambique its East Indian State and, in 1893, divided it into two provinces with three districts, namely: Mozambique, Zambezia, and Lourenço Marques, the districts being under *governadores subalternos* (lieutenant-governors). In the same year (1891), in the wake of the humiliating British ultimatum, the governor-general was replaced by a high commissioner with broad powers to deal effectively with internal and external threats. However, the new high commissioner, particularly Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque (1896-98), proved to be such a threat to Lisbon's authority over the colony that the position was abolished in 1898 (although it was restored on and off during the 1910-1926 period).

The administrative structure of Mozambique continued to be revised, however. The 1907 decrees divided the colony into five districts--Lourenço Marques, Quelimane, Tete, Mozambique, and Inhambane--each with its own districts and *concelhos*, *circumscrições civis* (civil municipalities), and *capitanias-mores* (captaincies), depending on whether the local situation dictated civilian or military authority. During that year, the term of office for the governor-general was reduced to three years due to Lisbon's fear that the governor's power might entrench itself in the colony. The government also restricted jurisdiction over indigenous affairs and entrusted it to the district governor. The 1930 Colonial Act changed the governor's term of office to four years. Theoretically, he exercised power over finances and civil service. In practice, however, the governor consulted the Ministry of Colonies. Under the new system, the governor-general was assisted by a secretary-general who oversaw the secretariat for civil and political administration (including the police and civil servants) and by five other secretaries, each overseeing one of the following administrative divisions: Public Works and Communications; Education; Housing, Economy, Land and Settlement; and Health, Labor, and Welfare. A legislative council was established in 1956 to assist the governor but not to approve laws--a function reserved to the governor and the Colonial Ministry. The council was made up of 29 members, 18 chosen by corporate interests (including the *régulos*) and the selected individuals who paid taxes in the amount of at least 15,000 *escudos*, and nine chosen by the registered voters from each district. A permanent economic and social council also assisted the governor-general on financial, economic, and social issues.

From the 1890s to the early 1940s, the territories under the

the monopolistic concessionnaires fell under the laws of the companies, which also appointed their own governors-general and district governors. During the 1960s, Mozambique was divided into nine districts, these into municipalities (*concelhos*), towns (*circumscrições*), and administrative posts (*postos administrativos*). Lourenço Marques was under the governor-general, whereas the remaining districts fell under the district governors' authority. In 1964, Mozambique had 61 municipalities and 33 *circumscrições* (townships). Both were under administrators, while the administrative posts fell under the authority of *chefes do posto*. Presently, Mozambique is divided into 11 provinces (Maputo city counting as the eleventh). Each province is headed by a governor appointed directly by the President of the Republic. (See: Provinces.)

AFRICANO, O (1909-1918). First black-owned weekly newspaper (replaced by *O Brado Africano* in 1918), established by the Albasini brothers. Just as the *O Brado Africano* a few years later, *O Africano* was published in Portuguese and Rhonga.

AGRICULTURE. Mozambique's population is predominantly agrarian. About 87 percent of the people produce their own food and live in non-urban areas. Only 5 percent of the arable land is cultivated, however, and FRELIMO has encouraged and sometimes forced the people to live in collective farms and participate in cooperatives (co-ops)--about 229 in 1982, up from 180 in 1977 but down from 375 in 1981. Each collective farm contains between 50 and 15,000 people. The number of co-ops reached the 1,352 mark in 1982 with a total of 1.5 million people. The co-ops amounted to 30,000 acres of land. Co-op productivity, however, fell by half during 1979-81 period. The state projection of having 5 million people on co-ops and collective farms by 1990 does not seem realistic at present. Each family living on the collective farm is also allowed to work on a small plot of land for individual food needs. Overall, the government has acknowledged that low productivity stems from mismanagement, lack of sufficiently trained technicians and individual incentives, and inadequate state assistance.

Major crops grown on the collective farms and co-ops are cotton, cashew nuts, sugar cane, corn, millet, sisal, peanuts, tea, and sorghum. Lately, however, the activities of the MNR and government countermeasures against suspected MNR sympathizers have destroyed many of the farms, and people have had to flee to the towns and the neighboring countries to seek refuge. (See: Economy.)

AJAUA (Yao). The matrilineal Ajaua, when classified differently from the Macua-Lomwe, numbered about 250,000 in the 1970 census. They inhabit the Lago district between the Lugenda and Rovuma Rivers and parts of Tanzania. They are predominantly Muslim and have transformed themselves from hunters into agriculturalists.

AJI, Sulimane Bona (or Suliman Bwana Haji). Aji succeeded Cheikh Janfar Salim in Quitangonha (1817-1850). He briefly befriended Governor-General Sebastião Xavier Botelho (1825-1829) but ran into trouble with the Portuguese authorities due to his activities as a slave trader. With assistance from Zanzibar and Quíloa and several Portuguese slave traders, Aji successfully attacked Mos-suril in 1831 and then sued for peace, without, however, interrupting his slaving activities. At times he would hoist the Portuguese flag and at other times he hoisted the flag of Zanzibar on his territory, while he continued to receive his annual pension from the Portuguese. He was replaced by Cheikh Auly Ben Hery (1850-1873), but Quitangonha, for all practical purposes, continued to be independent from the Portuguese authorities.

ALBASINI, João (1890-1925). João Albasini and his brother José Albasini were owners and editors of the first black press in Mozambique--O Brado Africano (African Call)--established in 1918, based at Lourenço Marques with relatively wide circulation at Beira. The assimilated Albasini, the father, was of Portuguese and African descent. The Albasinis published the review in Portuguese and Rhonga. João was also a novelist and published his historical novel Livro da Dor in 1925.

ALBUQUERQUE, Joaquim Augusto Mouzinho de (1855-1902). Portuguese statesman, cavalry officer, and mathematician. Mouzinho served in India in 1886, and, in 1890-1902, he became governor of the military district of Lourenço Marques. Having distinguished himself as commander of a squadron of first cavalry against Gungunhana in 1895. Mouzinho was appointed governor of the military district of Gaza by Antonio Enes, the Royal Commissioner. On December 28, 1895, Mouzinho entered Chaimite, Gungunhana's headquarters, and imprisoned the Nguni king, apparently without firing a single shot. In 1896, Mouzinho pacified the Maputo area and was appointed Governor-General of Mozambique on May 21, 1896, to be soon elevated, in November of the same year, to the office of Royal Commissioner. He led military campaigns against the Namarais in Mozambique District, where he was wounded. In 1897, he resumed his campaigns against the Nguni (Vatuas) under Maguiguana, Gungunhana's successor, whom he finally defeated and killed at Mapulanguene. Mouzinho briefly returned to Portugal to receive military honors but came back to Mozambique in 1898 to put an end to the remaining resistance. However, dissatisfied with his autocratic rule of Mozambique, the government limited severely his powers as Royal Commissioner, which prompted him to resign in protest. He subsequently returned to Portugal and served at the royal palace as confidant and mentor of Prince Dom Luís Philip. Accused of attempting to overthrow the monarchy in favor of a military dictatorship, bored with life, and disgusted with the way he had been treated (no longer as a hero), Mouzinho committed suicide at the entrance of the Jardim das Laranjeiras in Lisbon on January 8, 1902. Cruel and often impulsive, Mouzinho despised

the Africans, whom he called lazy and savages, favored foreign concessionaire companies to develop the colony, and was totally opposed to the policy of assimilation. Like Antonio Enes, his mentor, Mouzinho left a series of administrative and political decrees governing the Province of Mozambique.

ALDEAMENTOS (protected village settlements). Aldeamentos were villages or hamlets created by the Portuguese government to control and protect the population and ensure peaceful colonization. The aldeamentos were intended to be "strategic" hamlets in the Portuguese colonies, particularly during the liberation war.

ANGUNI (Nguni). An ethnic grouping in southern Mozambique, the Nguni inhabit Gaza and around Maputo. Known as the "Zulu" and the "Vatua" by the Portuguese, the Nguni, who numbered about one million in 1988, migrated from Natal during the nineteenth century as a result of ethnic rivalries and disputes over land, cattle, and grazing. They observe a strict hierarchy of age groups, are warriors, and under such famous leaders as Mazula, Gungunhana, and Maguigwana (not a Nguni), fought the Portuguese from 1832 to 1895. The Swazi are considered to be a clan of the Nguni and live in Namaacha, near Swaziland.

ANJOS, Paulo Mariano dos. Paulo Mariano dos Anjos was a Goan merchant and colonel in the Portuguese army who settled in the northern section of the Lower Zambezi, between the Zambezi and Quelimane rivers during the 1820s. He acquired several prazos in Massingire. He and his son, Paulo Mariano II, known as Matequenha I, became very powerful among the Maganja and Sena people and prospered from the slave trade along the Chire and the Zambezi Rivers, in Tete and Sena towns, in the 1850s. Eventually, Matequenha I established his aringa at Chamo, a small island on the Chire. In 1857, Matequenha I was arrested by the Portuguese authorities in Quelimane for slave trading and anti-Portuguese activities. His brother, Matequenha II (also known as Bonga, not related to the Bonga of the Cruz family in Massangano), organized the Massingire people and raised an army that marched against Quelimane that year. Government troops from Quelimane attempted to take the Chamo aringa but failed to take the prazo, which was defended by achikunda (slave soldiers). On September 8, 1858, Governor Custódio José da Silva overran the aringa and erected Fort Mzaro in Massingire. Matequenha II, however, escaped capture. Meanwhile, in 1860, Matequenha I was tried in Mozambique, released, and allowed to return to his prazo. Subsequently, he built a new aringa on Mount Morumbala and resumed his slaving activities. He died in 1861, after moving his aringa further north, and was succeeded by his son, Paulo Mariano III (also known as Mariano Pequeno). In July 1881, Mariano III was handed over to the Portuguese by the Macololo because of his cruelty and was assassinated on his way to Quelimane in December 1881. By 1882, the Massingire prazo had surrendered to Portuguese rule, although

the Macololo themselves would not be conquered (and only temporarily) by the Portuguese until 1889.

ARMAZENS DO POVO. See: People's Shops.

ARMED FORCES. At the height of the war in 1981-1983, Mozambique had an army of 22,800 troops, a navy of 700 marines, and an air force of 500 men. The war, however, forced the officials to beef up the country's defense forces. Consequently, according to the Statesman's Year Book (1988), in 1987, the Mozambican army consisted of 28,000 men and 9,500 border guards and militias of various kinds, divided into: one tank brigade, seven infantry brigades, two independent mechanized and seven anti-aircraft artillery battalions. Some T-34/-55 main battle tanks were also part of the of the army's arsenal. The navy comprised 800 officers and men, while its equipment consisted of ten Indian-built patrol craft, two ex-Soviet anti-submarine vessels, six former Portuguese coastal patrol boats, ten inshore patrol boats, one ex-Portuguese landing craft for transport, six ex-Soviet gunboats, four ex-Dutch patrol craft, and two ex-Portuguese minor landing craft. The air force personnel numbered 1,000 while its equipment consisted of twenty MiG-17 and thirty MiG-21 fighters, manned by Cubans, one 26 turboprop transport and some C-47 piston-engine transports, ten Mi-24 armed helicopters, eight Mi-8 transport helicopters, a few 1-39 jet trainers, Zlin 326 primary trainers and some ex-Portuguese Air Force Alouette helicopters.

AROUCA, Domingos. One of the first Mozambican lawyers, educated in Portugal during the 1950s and early 1960s and married to a Portuguese, he returned to Mozambique but could not practice law as the secret police kept him under surveillance and eventually arrested him. Just prior to the establishment of the transitional government in Mozambique in 1974, Arouca, a business owner himself, disagreed with Machel's Marxist policies and became a spokesman of RENAMO. With the support of a few Portuguese citizens, he founded his own political party known as the United Front of Mozambique (FUMO). He has lived in Portugal since 1974. Lately, RENAMO representatives have tried to lure him by promising him a prominent position should it win the war against FRELIMO. FUMO, of course, has no political impact in Mozambique or abroad.

ARRIAGA, Brigadier-General Kaulza de. Professor at the Instituto de Altos Estudos Militares in Lisbon (1966) and Commander of the Portuguese forces in Mozambique (1970-1973). Arriaga was determined to end once for all FRELIMO activities in the colony. He led several land and air offensives as part of his Operation Gordian Knot (Nó Górdio) which he launched against FRELIMO, particularly in the Maconde Plateau.

To win over FRELIMO guerrillas, it is reported that Arriaga gave preference of treatment to wounded guerrillas over his Portuguese army. The guerrillas were also received in the same hospital

wards as the Portuguese troops. Believing that, in the long-run, economic development was essential to winning the war, Arriaga launched his Operation Frontier (Operação Fronteira) on the banks of the Rovuma River. He literally attempted to build a "human wall," a type of a human cordon sanitaire made up of dozens of concrete houses, schools, a post office, a market, and a technical college, and planned to provide the new settlement with paved roads to facilitate access and communication. He invited 2,500 Maconde to live in the new town, known as Nangade Village, 75 miles inland from the Indian Ocean. He concentrated his attention on the Rovuma frontier, hoping to block guerrilla infiltration from Tanzania. To improve his military tactics against the guerrillas, Arriaga, as soon as he was appointed to his post in Mozambique, visited General Westmoreland in Washington, D.C., to learn valuable lessons from the American experience in Vietnam. For a while, his military and civilian projects caused some concern among the liberation movement circles both in Mozambique and Angola. In a matter of months, however, FRELIMO, assisted by rains, had paralyzed the grand design, and in August 1973, Arriaga was replaced by General Tomás Basto Machado.

The April 25, 1974, military coup in Portugal proved how unsuccessful Arriaga's military campaign had been in Mozambique. Military experts estimate that between 1961 and 1974, some 110,000 Portuguese engaged in the colonial wars were unaccounted for, most of whom perished in combat. During the 1961-1971 period, some 1,300 Portuguese soldiers were killed in Mozambique alone; between 1971 and 1974, the death toll on the Portuguese side was eighteen soldiers a month.

ASSIMILAÇÃO (Assimilation). The term referred to Portuguese colonial policy which attempted to transform the Africans into Portuguese citizens once they could speak Portuguese, read and write, and sustain themselves through employment or business. Africans were also expected to abandon their own culture. By law, once assimilated, the African was to enjoy the same rights and accept the same responsibilities as a Portuguese citizen. The assimilated African, therefore, was entitled to enjoy freedom of movement within the colony and the empire, participate in elections, and not be subject to discrimination in public facilities. The origins of the policy are still unclear, although certain factors such as the assimilating Roman tradition in the Iberian peninsula, the melting pot associated with the Arab invasion (711-1492 A.D.), the ideas of the Enlightenment, and the impact of the French Revolution may explain in part why the policies of assimilation persisted in Portuguese colonial history ever since the sixteenth century. At that time, for example, the Portuguese government had granted citizenship privileges to (East) Indians. Royal decrees during the reign of Dom José I (eighteenth century) reiterated that colonial subjects in Brazil and other parts of the empire would be considered Portuguese citizens as long as they had been baptized Roman Catholics. In the early days, therefore, Catholicism was

the qualifying factor, whereas during the 1920s and later, literacy and the ability to sustain oneself economically became the added prerequisites. The assimilationist tendency of Portugal became quite clear as part of its nineteenth-century liberalism. The Portuguese constitutions of the 1820s and 1840s explicitly espoused this policy, making no distinction between continental and overseas provinces. In fact, some historians have called the policy of that period *Assimilação Uniformizadora* (uniformalizing assimilation), which attempted to completely change all Africans by providing them with the rights and privileges of Portuguese citizens living in the metropolis.

Those not assimilated were referred to as *indígenas*, although it was not until 1917 and 1920 that specific statutes officially introduced the discriminatory concept of *indígenas* and *assimilados*. The Regime do Indigenato (Diploma no. 36, Nov 12, 1917) and decree n. 7:15, November 19, 1920, defined the *indígena* as an African who chose to continue to live under African traditions. Once he had made this choice, he would be forced to work and be regulated by special laws, whereas the *assimilado* was free to pursue a career of his choice. Children of assimilated Africans, as well as those resulting from miscegenation when fathered by a non-*indígena*, would automatically be considered Portuguese. Parents had the obligation of simply registering them officially. Whereas the *indígena* had to carry a detailed identification pass known as the *caderneta indígena*, the *assimilado* carried a less complicated pass known as the *bilhete de identidade*. When the law was changed in 1961 making all Africans citizens of Portugal, the former *indígenas* still continued to carry the *caderneta indígena*, and, in practice, their non-privileged status did not change. The uniformalizing assimilationist policy came under heavy attack from colonial statesmen such as António Enes and Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque just prior to the implantation of the republican regime in 1910. They argued that, due to the state of "savagery" of the African, it was unrealistic to make him a citizen. In 1930, the Colonial Act, reflecting Antonio Salazar's view of the colonies as cheap sources of raw materials and reservoirs of manpower for forced labor for the metropolis, stressed the cultural differences and discouraged the assimilation of the Africans. Abuses associated with forced labor, heavily criticized by the international community during the 1960s, and the rise of African nationalism in the Portuguese colonies compelled Lisbon to declare all Africans Portuguese citizens in 1961. By then, however, fewer than 5,000 had achieved the status of *assimilados*.

Various factors contributed to the failure of the assimilation policy, which in fact was a form of direct rule. First, although the Crown tended to defend the policy, no consensus about it existed in Portugal itself. Second, assimilation was lukewarmly received by colonial governors, and therefore never seriously implemented. Third, the African *assimilado* always remained a cultural hybrid, who, never totally accepted by the colonizer, could no longer fit among his own people. This situation discouraged

many prospective candidates from applying for citizenship. Finally, the government realized that militants and nationalists tended to come from the ranks of the assimilated Africans, who, taking assimilation literally, argued for equality and the right to participate fully in the decision-making process; in short, as time elapsed, the assimilated began demanding the right to self-determination. In addition, assimilation was intrinsically doomed to failure because, while it advocated equality, it forced the African alone to assimilate to Portuguese culture, clearly implying the inferiority of his culture. Thus, although based on the non-racist premise that all men are born equal, in its concrete application, assimilation was a racist policy.

ASSIMILATION. See: Assimilação.

ASSOCIAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE. An association created in Lourenço Marques during the 1920s, it catered at first to the needs of the Portuguese born in Mozambique. During the 1950s, however, it widened its membership and admitted any Mozambicans interested in ending racial discrimination.

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BANEANES. Hindu merchants who settled in or did long distance trading with Mozambique, beginning in 1686 and welcomed by the viceroy of India. At first, administrators encouraged the Baneanes to set up businesses in Mozambique. As time elapsed and the Baneanes became successful, however, the Portuguese settlers as well as administrators resented their business methods. The Baneanes were accused of cheating, usury, greed, and disrespect for the Portuguese authorities. Their Hindu practices also brought contempt for them from the Portuguese. The Baneanes, however, trading from the interior to the coast of Mozambique and to India, and enjoying the friendship of the Jesuits and some powerful administrators, continued their activities even up to the twentieth century. Mouzinho de Albuquerque accused them of taking advantage of the Africans and curbed their activities in Gaza and in the southern interior. The major contention was that, while their business practices impoverished the colony, the Baneanes enriched themselves and their families.

BEIRA. Port city and provincial capital of Sofala Province, located at the mouths of the Pungue and Buzi Rivers on the Mozambique Channel. Founded in 1891 by the Mozambique Company as its capital, Beira was taken by the colonial state in 1941. Due to its railway and roads which link it to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi, and even Zaire, and its port facilities used by the surrounding countries, Beira used to be a bustling city. Commercial activities in the city have slowed down lately due to the incursions of the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. It exports several

goods such as tobacco, food stuffs, wheat, textiles, beverages, and equipment, and provides meat and fish refrigeration facilities developed mainly during the 1980s. The latest estimates put the population of the city at 269,700 people.

BILHETE DE IDENTIDADE. An identification card introduced during the 1920s and required of Portuguese citizens and the assimilated Africans. (See: Assimilação.)

BOLETIM DA SOCIEDADE DE GEOGRAPHIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE (1881-1883). Founded at the capital, the Boletim was cancelled after only three years of existence due to pressures from the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa which was opposed to its existence as a competing journal.

BOLETIM DO GOVERNO DA PROVINCIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE (May 13, 1854-June 1975). First official organ of the colony of Mozambique, replaced by the Boletim da República in 1975.

BRADO AFRICANO, O (BA). A newspaper of protest created by the Associação Africana in Lourenço Marques in 1918, owned and run by the famous Albasini brothers. It survived until 1936, when the Salazar regime abolished it. (See: Albasini, Joao.)

BRAGANÇA, Aquino de (1918-1986). An Indian by origin, Aquino was one of President Samora Machel's most trusted advisors and died with Machel in an airplane crash on October 19, 1986. A skillful scholar-diplomat, Aquino was involved in the peace negotiations that led to the independence of the Portuguese colonies. He was the Director of the African Studies Center at the University of Eduardo Mondlane.

BRITISH SENA SUGAR ESTATES. Authorized in 1925, the company concentrated its efforts on sugar cane plantation, mainly in the old Sena prazos.

BRITISH ULTIMATUM. Ultimatum delivered to the Portuguese government in Lisbon on January 11, 1890. Drafted by Lord Salisbury, the Conservative British Foreign Secretary, it demanded that the Portuguese authorities telegraph the Governor-General of Mozambique immediately and order him to withdraw all Portuguese forces from the Macololo area comprising Mashonaland and Shire River, which Serpa Pinto had annexed in 1889. The British vessel Enchantress, waiting on the Tagus River, was ready to bring aboard the whole British diplomatic corps, should the Portuguese not comply with the ultimatum that afternoon. The ultimatum also contained the threat of the use of force by British troops in the area against the Portuguese occupation. Meanwhile, to reinforce the ultimatum, Britain had dispatched a warship to the Indian Ocean. Portugal, a weaker nation, capitulated, and assured the British that the troops would be withdrawn immediately. As a

result of this national humiliation, the government of Luciano de Castro (president of the Ministerial Council) resigned on January 13, 1890. On August 20, 1890, the two contenders signed a preliminary treaty which the Cortes ratified on June 11, 1891. The terms of the treaty made Manica plateau part of Rhodesia and allowed Portugal to keep the Zumbo prazos. However, the ultimatum caused an uproar in Lisbon and Mozambique, where foreigners, particularly the British, were harassed. Portuguese historians have long considered the ultimatum to be the greatest humiliation their country has ever suffered since the Spanish occupation of the Portuguese throne in 1580.

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CABO DELGADO. Until 1975, district administrative center and now the northeastern province of Mozambique, with a surface area of 30,260 square miles, inhabited by 977,600 people (1987 estimate), most of whom are Maconde. Pemba, formerly Porto Amelia, is its capital city and port. Bordering Tanzania through the Rovuma River in the north, Niassa Province in the west, through Lurio River in the south, and the Indian Ocean in the northeast, Cabo Delgado is known for its rivers (particularly Lugenda and Messalo) and its agricultural products which include rice, sisal, cashew nuts, cotton, manioc, and sorghum. Its town of Mueda, where the Portuguese massacred 500 Africans who were protesting colonial policies on June 16, 1960, has been heralded as the birthplace of the modern revolutionary struggle in Mozambique.

CABORA BASSA. Portugal's most enduring physical and economic structure, the Cabora Bassa Dam construction started in 1969 and was completed in 1974. The 2.075 MW dam can contain 57 million cubic meters of water, is equipped with 408 MW generators, and is 137 meters high. It has the capacity to generate 18,000 KW of electricity per hour (7,000 more than the Aswan Dam and 9,000 more than Kariba). It was built by a consortium of Portuguese, German, British, and South African companies, and it can supply electricity to Mozambique, South Africa, and possibly Zambia and Zimbabwe. The South African government is estimated to have contributed about 20 percent to the construction cost, namely, some R350 million (\$517.7 million).

Managed by the Portuguese Companhia Hidro-Electrica de Cabora Bassa (CHCH), the dam also irrigates some 140,000 square km of land along the Zambezi river. Through a 1,400 km power line, Cabora Bassa provides about 10 percent of South African electricity needs, while Mozambique has not yet started receiving electric power from it. A 1974 agreement regulating the operation of the Cabora Bassa Dam was amended in May 1984, two months after the signing of the Nkomati Accord, with South Africa pledging to double the rate of its overall payment: 1,450 MW at a total cost of R90 million (about \$71.9 million a year), of which between \$5

million and \$10 million would go to Mozambique and the remainder to the consortium. During the liberation war, FRELIMO had vowed to destroy the dam because it stood for the ongoing Portuguese occupation of the colony and dramatized South Africa's economic stranglehold on Mozambique. Following independence, however, FRELIMO realized the potential benefits from the dam and has, therefore, done all it can to protect it against the MNR, which on several occasions has blown up its pylons. In fact, in 1984, South Africa and Mozambique, in the spirit of the Nkomati Accord, agreed to establish a joint force to protect the dam and patrol the area. In April 1988, further talks were held to find more effective ways to implement the agreement.

CAETANO, Dr. Marcello José Neves Alves (1906-1980). Professor of Law and one of the main architects of the Portuguese Constitution, Minister of Colonies (1944-49), Deputy Prime Minister (1955-1959), Rector of the University of Lisbon (1959-1978), and Premier of Portugal (September 1978-April 25, 1974). Although he helped revise the Portuguese constitution in 1951 and collaborated with Salazar in changing some of the colonial statutes, Caetano's philosophy did not differ much from Salazar's. His idea of autonomy for the overseas territories would have still relegated the Africans to a colonial status within the Portuguese empire and was designed to deny independence. His government was overthrown by the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) on April 25, 1974, which exiled him to Rio de Janeiro, where he died in 1980.

CAMARA MUNICIPAIS. Municipal councils created during the 1960s to function in district capitals and townships with at least 500 electors. They were headed by a president, comparable to a United States mayor.

CARTAO DE IDENTIDADE. An identification card required of the educated Africans prior to obtaining the caderneta de identidade as proof of assimilation. (See: Assimilação.)

CASA DOS ESTUDANTES DO IMPERIO (CEI). A student center established in Lisbon by and for assimilated and educated Africans during the 1920s, banned for its political activities in 1961. Prominent members included Marcelino dos Santos (Mozambique), Amílcar Cabral (Guinea-Bissau), and Mário Andrade (Angola).

CATHOLIC CHURCH. (See: Church, Catholic.)

CAVALO MARINHO. Along with the palmatória, the cavalo marinho, a whip made out of hippopotamus skin, was an infamous device used by the Portuguese to punish school children and grown up Africans accused of crimes. The Portuguese teachers, prison wards, and workers' overseers all used the cavalo marinho. In the fields, on plantations, and on road construction projects, the whip was intended to punish those considered to be lazy and

insubordinate. With time, Africans who assumed the position of the Portuguese in schools and elsewhere, such as the cipais, also availed themselves of the device to punish recalcitrant fellow Africans.

CENTRAL COMMITTEE (FRELIMO). FRELIMO's executive, elected by the Congress, and responsible for the day-to-day activities of the party. It meets once a year at the request of the Politburo, which maintains most of the power in FRELIMO. The Central Committee elects the Congress members and it has a Secretariat made up of eight members. The number of Central Committee members has varied, but at present it has 130 members.

CHAIMITE. Gungunhana's headquarters in the Gaza empire on the Save River, where Mouzinho arrested the Nguni leader on December 28, 1895. (See: Gungunhana.)

CHARLES ET GEORGES AFFAIR (The). An incident that occurred in 1857, when the Portuguese authorities in Mozambique intercepted the French vessel Charles et Georges, loaded with 110 Mozambique slaves on the way to the French islands on the Indian Ocean. The behavior of the French contravened the 1836 law abolishing the slave trade in the Portuguese colonies. (See also: Slavery.)

CHIBALO, NTALATO. African vernacular words used for the forced labor to which the Africans were subjected. According to the law, a contract had to be put in written form and an employer could not mistreat his employee or cheat the laborer out of his due salary. However, in practice an African usually worked from six to nine months a year in forced labor for a company, a private Portuguese citizen (including the assimilado), or the government, almost always away from his home, and was paid only at the end of his contract, at which time he also had to pay taxes. Meanwhile, he had to leave his family unattended at home. His wages were so low that they would not allow him to provide for them. Chibalo or ntalato, depending on the area of the country, contributed to rebellion in the colony, which culminated with the liberation movement.

CHICUNDA. The Chicunda are a Mozambique ethnic group located in the lower Zambezi, along with the Chuabo, the Boror, the Maganja, the Mahindo, the Phodzo, the Sena, the Nyungwe, the Tewe, the Tawara, the Dema, the Atande, the Gova, the Pande, and other smaller groups scattered throughout the vast banks of the river. The term was also used to designate slave armies in the prazos.

CHIMOIO. Formerly Vila Pery, Chimoio used to thrive on the Beira-Mutare railroad and its rail link with the port of Beira. During the 1960s, it was a significant commercial center, enriched by a

cotton factory run by the Sociedade Algodoeira de Fomento Colonial (Colonial Cotton Development Company), which employed some 3,000 workers. Beside the cotton industry, Chimoio had saw mills and steel and other minor industrial plants. The town's surrounding areas also produce tobacco, corn, castor beans, kenaf, peanuts, and millet. The Revue River generates hydroelectric power for the town. Trucks loaded with cash crops (mainly cotton and corn) from far away places such as Vila Gouveia (now Vila Catandica) constantly arrived in this town which housed a significant European population. In 1970, its population was estimated at 4,507. Now, however, as one of the major targets of the National Resistance Movement, Chimoio is almost deserted.

CHISSANO, Joaquim Alberto (1939-). Appointed President of Mozambique following the death of Samora Machel in 1986, Chissano was born in southern Mozambique and, after completing his secondary schooling in the colony, went to Portugal on a scholarship to study law. However, before completing his degree, led by nationalist motives and harassed by the Portuguese secret police, Chissano sought refuge in the Soviet Union. He became a member of FRELIMO in 1962 and, in 1963, he was elected to the Central Committee. He occupied the position of Secretary to the President from 1966 to 1969; between 1969 and 1974, he was the Chief Representative of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam. He also served as Chief of Security during the war period. As a rising star on the Central Committee and a committed Marxist-Leninist, Chissano enjoyed the trust of Machel. He served as Prime Minister of the Transitional Government in Mozambique in 1974-75 and was named Foreign Minister in independent Mozambique in 1975, a post he held until assuming the presidency of Mozambique in 1986.

Chissano is reputed to be intelligent, educated, and a shrewd politician and statesman. Despite his commitment to Marxism, Chissano is thought to be much more pragmatic than Machel, notwithstanding his utterances that Mozambique would never abandon its close ties to the Soviet Union and his pledge to fight RENAMO until military victory is achieved. In fact, one of his first acts as President was a visit to the United States in 1987 to meet President Reagan and solicit assistance for his war-torn and drought-stricken country. In New York, he called and held a formal meeting with former Mozambican students and invited them to come home either to visit or to stay and contribute to national development. In 1987, he requested and received assistance from the International Monetary Fund, whose terms resulted in a drastic devaluation of the metical. Chissano is married and has three children.

CHURCH, CATHOLIC. The role of the Catholic Church remained crucial to the Portuguese state since the beginning of the Portuguese voyages across the oceans. All major sea enterprises made provisions to carry a handful of missionaries or priests not only to take care of the spiritual needs of the navigators themselves, but also to spread the gospel among the newly "discovered" people.

Insofar as the colonies were concerned, the Portuguese monarchs always held the belief that the Church would be the best instrument for the advancement of the objectives of the mother country. They saw the Church as essentially playing a double role, namely, that of converting and civilizing, of spreading news about Portugal and evangelizing the "pagans." In fact, the relations between church and state, the secular and the spiritual, became so entrenched that no African, unless baptized a Roman Catholic, could be granted the rights and privileges of assimilation. Decrees and pronouncements dating as far back as 1568, 1886, 1926, and 1941 had stressed the Church's dual role. The 1930 Colonial Act, for example, noted that "The overseas religious missions, instruments of civilization, of national influence, and the establishments of training of personnel for its service and the Portuguese Padroado, will have juridical personality and be protected by the state, as institutions of education." The Church itself accepted with eagerness and pride its dual mission, which was well imbedded in the Missionary Statutes agreed with the Holy See in 1940 and 1941. The evangelization of the Africans and their secular education, therefore, had been entrusted to missionaries for centuries. The hope was that the Church would impart in the Africans the fear of God, the virtues of Christianity, appreciation of the value of work, and love for Portugal.

The work of the Church in Mozambique goes back to the sixteenth century when the first missionaries arrived, dramatized by the visit to Mozambique Island in 1542 of Jesuit Francis Xavier, who, on his way to India, was forced to stay a few months in the colony. Significant also was the arrival in Sofala in 1560 of Father Gonçalo da Silveria, who was brutally assassinated in the following year by the Mwenemutapa whom he had converted to Roman Catholicism. In 1568, writer and anthropologist Jesuit Father João dos Santos landed in Sofala and, by 1589, he reportedly had baptized 17,000 people. By 1604, the Jesuits had penetrated as far into the hinterland as Mwenemutapa, where they built churches and baptized not only the common people but also several royal families and their entourage. Almost at the same time, the Dominicans began their work in Sena and crossed the colony into Zimbabwe. The Brothers of São João de Deus had been on Mozambique Island in the early 1700s and had built a hospital and a convent around 1707, while the Seculars had been ministering the Macombe palace in Barue since 1695, and the Capucins had built churches and evangelized the Africans.

As a consequence of this unprecedented missionary activity, churches sprang up everywhere in the colony, and the future of Catholicism was so promising that, in 1783, the Pope appointed an autonomous bishop, Frei Amaro José de São Tomás, for Mozambique. (Paul V had created the Mozambique prelate in 1612, thus dismembering Mozambique from the hierarchical control of Goa.) However, the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 by the Marquis the Pombal and the anti-clerical wave that swept Portugal during the 1830s brought the Church to its knees. When all religious orders

were expelled from the Portuguese territory in 1834, the colonial church experienced a crisis from which it never recovered completely. As a result, by 1875, only thirteen parishes ministered by twelve priests had survived the onslaught. In 1883, only eight priests remained in the colony.

Since the seventeenth century, a religious cancer had been growing slowly within the colonial clergy. Many priests had simply put aside their vows, particularly those of poverty and chastity. Ignorance was rampant to the extent that some priests had to be sent back to Portugal or Goa because they were neither adequately trained nor committed to properly evangelize the people. The clergy was in such disarray that Goan Bishop Henrique, Prelate of Mozambique, resigned his post in 1886, convinced that there was no hope for Christianity in the colony. During the 1890s, Bishop Francisco da Silva complained about the moral decay he found among the missionaries. This was complicated by the fact that, although the monarchy relied on the Church, the government did not provide it with adequate financial support. Some priests were so poor, says military historian and Governor-General Xavier Botelho, that they had to steal the shoes they wore. Until the late 1880s, almost no missionaries arrived from Portugal, since the government had closed the Seminary of Cernache do Bomjardin in 1834. Cernache do Bomjardin had been specifically established and designated to train priests for overseas missionary work.

Following a long period of decay for the Church, conditions began to improve during the 1880s. The Jesuits were allowed to return in 1880, and other Orders followed them. By 1891, some 21 priests had resumed missionary work in Mozambique, while church buildings began to rise again on the horizon. Thus, between 1883 and 1933, twenty-seven new churches were erected, catered by more than 60 priests. Consequently, the number of Catholics in the colony began to increase steadily, from fewer than a thousand in the 1870s to 3,500 in 1905, 40,000 in 1936, 85,333 in 1941, and 900,000 in 1967. During the 1960s and '70s, more than 600 priests toiled in the colony administering more than 230 churches in eight dioceses. The orders included: Franciscans, Capucins, Dominicans, Lazarists, White Fathers or Missionaries of Africa, Marist Brothers, Monfortins, priests of the Consolata, of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, and of the Sacred Heart of Mary, Overseas Catholic Mission Fathers, priests of St. John of Cluny, the Burgos, along with several secular priests in the towns and the Episcopal sees.

The rocky relations between church and state in the 1830s to 1880s had improved considerably just before the republican regime was inaugurated in Lisbon in 1910. Immediately thereafter, until 1922, relations soured again; in 1913, the government attempted to replace the missionaries in the school system by sending the so-called Missões Civilizadoras Laicas (or the lay civilizing brigades) to Mozambique. The experiment failed miserably, and in 1922 and again in 1926, the state, although declaring separation between

church and state, decreed that the Catholic Church would be supported by the state and its priests would be considered, for subsistence purposes, as functionaries of the state.

The secular educational mission of the Church started as early as the eighteenth century, especially at Mozambique island, the seat of the prelate, where schools for African and European children, particularly the poor, were just established. In 1875, Prelate José Caetano Gonçalves created a seminary on Mozambique island. It enrolled twelve African seminarians but was abandoned two years later due to insufficient numbers of candidates. By 1893, the Church reported that it had 692 students in its twenty missions. In 1910, Catholics administered several institutes: Dona Amelia in Lourenço Marques, Santa Catarina de Sena de Paulo at Missano, São Jose de L'Hanguene, Pio X at Beira, Santa Joana at Quelimane, and Leão XIII at Cabeceira Grande. Eventually, all rudimentary schools (Escolas de Adaptação) were entrusted to the missions. The fastest growth of the Catholic schools occurred during the 1960s as a result of an unprecedented increase in the number of priests and missions. In 1964, for example, the missions had 3,233 rudimentary schools and 268 other types of institutions which provided instruction to more than 400,000 students.

As independence approached, the Catholic hierarchy, symbolized by the Archbishops of Lourenço Marques Dom Teodosio Clemente de Gouveia and Dom Custodio Alvim Pereira, sided with the Portuguese state, denouncing nationalists and even allowing the secret police to harass vocal priests, especially if they happened to be foreign. Exceptions to this attitude could be found, however, as was the case of the Bishop of Beira, Dom Sebastião Soares de Resende, who was convinced that independence for the colonies was inevitable and that the Portuguese should be prepared for it, although he envisaged the closest ties between the mother country and its former colonies. Eventually, however, there was a split between the Portuguese clergy and the majority of the foreign missionaries, who tended to favor the aspirations of the Africans. Thus, in 1971, the White Fathers, brothers and nuns, numbering more than fifty, refused to be tools of Portuguese colonialism and left the colony.

The centuries-old alliance between the Church and the state explains why FRELIMO viewed with suspicion the Catholic clergy, including the African priests (who numbered about 20 in 1974). Churches were confiscated and their properties expropriated by the government, forcing many of the priests to celebrate mass under trees or in secular places. The Catholic Bishops spoke out against the overt anti-clericalism of the government and reminded the authorities that the Mozambique constitution defends religious freedom. The situation began to improve only during the 1980s, especially after Joaquim Chissano assumed the presidency of Mozambique. Today, the Catholic Church has some 2 million faithful, with six dioceses (Maputo, Beira, Quelimane, Inhambane, Cabo Delgado, and Tete) and three archbishoprics--Maputo, Beira, and Nampula.

CIPAIO (sipaio, cipai, sipai). An African policeman usually assigned to a lower level administrator or to the (African) régulo (chief) in colonial Mozambique. When attached to the régulo, the cipaio's function was to help recruit workers, arrest and beat individuals suspected of crimes or disobedience, and carry messages. Often, the ire of the Africans was directed toward the cipaio, although in most cases he simply followed to the letter the orders of his superiors.

CIRCUMSCRIÇÃO. Township. (See: Administration.)

COLONATO. Portuguese system of colonization. (See: Colono.)

COLONO. A Portuguese term meaning settler. As early as the seventeenth century, the Portuguese government unsuccessfully attempted to ensure the colonization of Mozambique by systematically sending settlers to the colony. During the mid-nineteenth century, Sá da Bandeira tried to rationalize and expedite the process of colonization by selecting, whenever possible, educated individuals and those who demonstrated skills in industry, agriculture, and craft to occupy the lands of Mozambique and render them productive. Within the prazos, the term colono was also used to designate the Africans who lived on the premises with their landlords (senhores). The term colonato is a derivative, meaning settlement (mostly by Europeans), particularly along the Zambezi and Limpopo valleys. Organized settlements proved to be such a failure that in Zambezia, for example, only 300 whites had settled in 1722, declining to 113 in 1735 and to 63 in 1782. For the colony as a whole, there were 2,141 white colonos in 1800, 18,842 in 1930, and 27,000 in 1940. The number rose to more than 48,000 in 1950 and reached 200,000 during the years prior to independence.

COMISSÕES MUNICIPAIS. Municipal (advisory) commissions in small towns and circumscrições with at least 300 electors, created during the mid-1960s.

COMITE PARA A UNIÃO MOÇAMBICANA (Committee for Mozambican Union--CUNIMO). Organization established during the mid-1980s, headquartered in Sacavem, Portugal, whose aim is to bridge the differences between FRELIMO and RENAMO. It disagrees with both: it detests FRELIMO for its Marxist-Leninist philosophy and abhors RENAMO for its ties with South Africa and its "terrorist" tactics. Its director is Carlos Alexandre. CUNIMO is supported by a few intellectuals such as Antonio Disse Zengazenga, who is in Germany, and Jose Chicuarra, former FRELIMO member who escaped Mozambique to Portugal during the early 1980s, after spending considerable time in jail for allegedly being a CIA agent. Artur Vilanculo, former FRELIMO member and, briefly, representative of RENAMO in the United States, was also originally a member of CUNIMO but decided in late 1980 to found his own organization, called Friends of Mozambique. CUNIMO leaders expelled him

from their organization on January 7, 1987. The organization has absolutely no power and has not had any impact on the war in Mozambique, which it would like to mediate.

COMITE REVOLUCIONARIO DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique Revolutionary Committee-COREMO). Revolutionary movement created by Mozambicans living in Lusaka, Kenya, in 1965, headed by Adelino Gwambe. Successor to the little known movement called the Mozambique Revolutionary Council (MORECO), established in 1964, COREMO consisted of splinter nationalist groups in the aftermath of the establishment of FRELIMO. President Kaunda urged COREMO to unite with FRELIMO at a meeting attended by Mondlane in Lusaka in 1965. When COREMO representatives refused to join FRELIMO, Mondlane walked out of the meeting. During its early stages, when it launched an attack on Tete District in 1965, COREMO promised to be a real rival to FRELIMO. However, the Portuguese retaliated severely against the attack and killed suspect COREMO sympathizers, forcing 6,000 people to seek refuge in Zambia. This was COREMO's last meaningful activity. The front survived only until 1969, although it maintained its branches in Lusaka and Cairo. The Lusaka-based COREMO eventually split into two factions, one of which named itself the União Nacional Africana da Rombézia (Rombezia African National Union--UNAR), with headquarters in Blantyre, Malawi. From its inception, COREMO was plagued by internal bickering that led to executive members firing each other. The demise of the short-lived revolutionary movement guaranteed FRELIMO's supremacy over the war against the Portuguese colonial state in Mozambique.

COMPANHIA DA ZAMBEZIA (Zambezia Company). It received its 150,000 square km concession in Tete and Quelimane districts in the lower Zambezi valley, essentially comprising the area's former prazos, on May 20, 1892. Its initial South African, German, British, French, and Portuguese capital was estimated at 30,601 contos. The company invested heavily in livestock as well as in agriculture and palm tree plantations in Coalane, Mavilembo, Rafael, Idigo, Namerrumo, Tonge, Maguival, Marrongane, São Domingo, and Timbue prazos. By 1930, for example, the company had planted and owned some 541,354 palm trees valued at more than 500,00\$05. In 1906, it owned some 4,299 head of cattle, valued at 28\$386 (réis) a head. In 1902, it paid some 60,655\$856 to the government in taxes collected by force from workers, and 74,819\$729 in 1906. Its margin of profit was \$593,922.9 (escudos) in 1930. Its term expired in 1932.

COMPANHIA DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique Company). With an initial British and French capital of £5 million, the Mozambique Company received its charter on November 21, 1890, comprising a fifty-year land concession over an area of 140,000 square km between the Zambezi and the Luenha Rivers and the 22nd parallel. It established its capital at Beira and engaged in the production of

rice, cotton, rubber, and sugar-cane; it extracted gold, diamonds, and salt; it built several factories, developed commercial and industrial plants, and raised cattle. It built or improved towns such as Beira, Buzi, Cheringoma, Chimoio, Gorongosa, Mexameje, Morebane, Neves Ferreira, Sofala, Vila Gouveia, Chiloane, Guveiro, Macequece, Mossurize, Sena, Lacerdonia, Sone, Chemba, Tambara, and Sanca. It recruited thousands of Africans by force every year and collected taxes from them. In 1928, for example, it collected some 247,806\$95 (escudos) in household taxes and 112,142\$43 in head taxes (or mutsonkho) from the Africans who were under its jurisdiction.

The company functioned relatively well until 1923-24. In 1924 and thereafter, an economic crisis befell Mozambique, culminating with the Great Depression of 1929. For example, while the value of the Company's export was estimated at 8,700,000\$00 in 1922 and 2,600,000\$00 in 1927, it plummeted to a mere 700,000\$00 in 1923. The monopolistic company was finally abolished in 1941, during the Salazar regime.

COMPANHIA DO AÇUCAR DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique Sugar Company). Approved in 1890, the Mozambique Sugar Company was predominantly British and had a concession in the Tete, Barue, and Quelimane areas for fifteen years only. In 1894, it produced some 717,714 kg of sugar in its Barue, Mazaro, Mopeia, and Sena prazos.

COMPANHIA DO BOROR (Boror Company). A sub-concession of the Zambezia Company, the Companhia do Boror was authorized in November 1899, with its seat at Macuze, Mozambique district. It had an initial capital of 270 contos, equivalent to some £60,000. Abolished in 1930, the Company left an impressive record in three plantations (cocoa and sisal: 1,287,842 and 3,596,101 trees, respectively, in 1920) and in sugar production (4,245 metric tons of sugar in the 1908-1918 period). It operated mainly in the former prazos of Boror, Tivie, Macuze, Licungo as well as in Maganja, Baixo Molocue, Ligonha, Bulubuda, Vila Ribeiro, Colocote, Meluli, Larde, and Nhamareda.

COMPANHIA DO BUZI (Buzi Company). Approved by the government on April 1, 1898, to engage in any commercial and industrial activity, explore every forest, and exercise exclusive hunting privileges, the Buzi Company was actually a sub-concession of the Mozambique Company, controlling some 135,000 hectares of land in Buzi. It lasted until 1940. Its major activity, however, was sugar cane plantation and sugar extraction, producing as many as 12,000 metric tons of sugar every year.

COMPANHIA DO MADAL (Madal Company). French-owned and controlled, with an initial capital of 68,000\$000 réis, the Madal Company was authorized to do business in Quelimane in 1904. It engaged mainly in sugar extraction.

COMPANHIA DO NIASSA (Nyasa Company). It received its concession of 200,000 square km (to last thirty-five years) in the regions located between the Rovuma and Lurio Rivers and Lake Nyasa, on September 26, 1891. Its predominantly British capital was estimated at 4,500,000\$000 (réis). Liquidated by statute in 1932, the Nyasa Company's performance was not impressive. It did not build a single railway or an acceptable number of roads within its own area. Although its concession included about one-fourth of the colony, its export volume was one-fourth less than that of its counterpart, the Mozambique Company. It thrived on the collection of taxes and the forced labor of its African inhabitants. Its profit margin, for example, was 44,586\$888 in 1895 and only 11,153\$00 (escudos) in 1930.

CONCELHO. Municipality. (See: Administration.)

CONFERENCIA DAS ORGANIZAÇÕES NACIONALISTAS DAS COLONIAS PORTUGUESAS (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies--CONCP). Established in Casablanca in 1961 at the insistence of African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyerere, CONCP sought cooperation and the exchange of information among the nationalists from the Portuguese colonies and the advancement of the idea of independence. It served as a forum for nationalist movements, namely, MPLA (Angola), FRELIMO (Mozambique), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde), and MLSTP (São Tomé e Príncipe).

CONGRESS (FRELIMO). Supreme organ of FRELIMO, made up of representatives from all walks of life, that gives the leadership and the Central Committee its fiat. The Congress has met every four or five years and elects the Central Committee, which carries out its resolutions and mandate. In a complicated process, the localities--the cells--elect district councils and these, in turn, elect provincial delegates to the Congress. Internal criticism is allowed both at the Congress and the Central Committee level. Criticism outside these parameters may cause ouster from the party, censorship, or internship in reeducation camps.

CONTRATADO. In the colonial context, the contratado was an African forced by the Portuguese government to work for a certain period of time, up to nine months, usually far from home to prevent his escape. According to law, the workers were under contract (contrato) from the government, a private Portuguese citizen (white or assimilated), or a company. Known by the Africans as chibalo or ntalato, this labor policy was hated in the colony, and it came increasingly under attack by the international community and private citizens in Europe and the United States. It was officially ended in the early 1960s. Early Mozambique governors, including High Commissioners António Enes and Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque, had argued that forced labor was the only way to civilize the African and free him from his lazy nature.

Although several provisions were made between 1914 and 1927 to protect the Mozambique laborer from abuses, most often they were simply ignored by the authorities and private employers.

COOLELA. Township in the Gaza empire where Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque's troops and Gungunhana's forces met on November 7, 1895, resulting in the temporary defeat of Gungunhana.

COOPERANTES (FRELIMO). Term used by FRELIMO to designate foreign nationals who sympathize with its socialist goals and are willing to assist in implementing them.

COUNCILS. The Overseas Organic Law of 1963 created advisory boards in the colonies, known as councils. The registered citizens elected half of the councilmen (vereadores) to the boards on the administrative post, township, and district level. The other half was selected by several interest or cultural groups. Rarely were any Africans selected to the councils, however. The advisory boards were designed to assist the governor in policy and administrative matters. The governor-general, in consultation with the highest local administrator, appointed the council's chairman.

COUTINHO, João de Azevedo (1865-1944). Portuguese statesman, military officer, and writer, Azevedo Coutinho participated with Serpa Pinto and Mouzinho de Albuquerque in the campaigns against the Macololo and the Namarraís in Mozambique in the 1890s. In 1902, he led the Barue campaign (which he described vividly in his Relatório da campanha do Bárue, 1902) and in 1904 served as Governor-General of Mozambique. In 1909, he was appointed Minister of the Navy.

CRAVEIRINHA, José (also known as José Gr. Vetrinha) (1922-). Natural of Maputo (Lourenço Marques), Craveirinha is one of the most known Mozambican poets, short story writers, and journalists. He worked for the newspapers Brado Africano, Notícias, and Tribuna. He published his poem Chigobo in 1964 and has other writings in Modern Poetry from Africa. Just as many other Mozambican writers, Craveirinha was jailed several times by the Portuguese authorities.

CRUZ (family). The Cruzes were one of the dynasties that controlled the Massagano and Tipue prazos in Tete district. The founder of the dynasty was Nicolau Pascoal da Cruz, a Sino-Thai who, after serving in the Portuguese army, settled in Mozambique in 1767. Through marriage alliances with African chiefs, he was able to carve for himself and his family considerable territory between the Luenha river and the Lupata valley. One of his sons, António José da Cruz (1777-1813), married a daughter of the king of Mwenemutapa but was arrested and hanged by the Portuguese, accused of conspiracy with the king in the murder of Lieutenant-

General Antônio Roberto de Barbosa Vilas Boas de Truão in 1807.

His other son, Joaquim José da Cruz, also known as the Nhaude (the Spider), inherited his father's estate (1805-1855) and built an aringa (fortified headquarters) at Massangano. He maintained such good relations with the Portuguese that they bestowed upon him the rank of Capitão-Mor. However, the peaceful coexistence was completely disrupted in the 1850s. In 1850, the governor sent one Lieutenant Raposo to arrest and bring Nhaude to Tete as a prisoner for illegally blocking river traffic. Nhaude tricked the officer when he secretly convened his men and fired upon the visitor, wounding him. Arrogantly, Nhaude told Raposo to go back to Tete and report to his administrator. Consequently, in 1854, the Portuguese made a major attempt to invade the aringa and capture Nhaude. They sent an expedition, first under Antônio Cândido de Pedroso Gamito and subsequently under Tito Augusto de Araújo Sicard, to the aringa. The expedition was unsuccessful, however, and lost many of its soldiers.

Nhaude died in 1855 and was succeeded by the most famous of the Cruzes, his oldest son, Antônio Vicente da Cruz (1825-1879), commonly known as Bonga (the Fox). Surrounded by some 15,000 soldiers (achikunda), Bonga at first declared himself a friend of the Portuguese. However, his insolence, demonstrated by his refusal to pay the mutsonkho (taxes) and his unchallenged control of the river trade, angered the Portuguese who (between 1867 and 1869) sent several expeditions to destroy his aringa and capture him. All expeditions, however, resulted in heavy casualties for the Portuguese. At the beginning of the hostilities, in 1867, the governor of Tete himself, Miguel Augusto de Gouveia, surrounded the aringa to arrest the Bonga in person. Using guerrilla tactics, however, Bonga overpowered the governor, captured him and cut his ears off, and sent him back to Tete. His victories forced the Portuguese to sign a treaty with him on June 19, 1875.

Bonga was succeeded by his son, Luís Vicente da Cruz, also known as Muchenga or Muirima. He made peace with the Portuguese. A skilled diplomat, Muirima was able to convince the governor of Tete to send a priest and soldiers to bless the tomb of his father, claiming that they owed this honor to him because he was an officer of the Portuguese army. When the Portuguese insisted on recovering the remains of three officers killed by Bonga in the aringa, Vicente da Cruz refused to comply and instead demanded a ransom. Powerless, the Portuguese authorities paid the ransom and recovered the three skulls, which were sent to Moçambique, the capital, for honorable state burial. Vicente's rule was brief, and his brother Vitorino da Cruz succeeded him in 1880.

Vitorinos' reign was equally short. In 1885, Antônio Vicente da Cruz (Chatara), as arrogant as his predecessors, assumed power. To punish him, the Portuguese, in collaboration with the Gouveia family, prepared an expedition that converged on Massangano from four directions, namely, Sena, Manica, Barue, and

Tete, in 1887. Sensing imminent defeat, Chatara abandoned the aringa, which the Portuguese subsequently burnt to the ground. Chatara and his family sought refuge in the Makaranga kingdom of the Pereiras, but his own brother, João Santana da Cruz, handed him over to the Portuguese authorities, who exiled him to the Cape Verde islands. João Santana da Cruz (Mutontora), however, succeeded in rebuilding the aringa and refused to pay taxes to the Portuguese authorities in 1888. Consequently, the Portuguese invaded the aringa and defeated the prazero. Mutontora and his whole family were taken prisoner to the capital city, Moçambique. In 1894, his threatened brother Inácio Vieira da Cruz (Gande), who had assumed the leadership, escaped into British territory but was also captured. Gande was the last of the Cruzes. Sporadic fighting continued around Massangano and Tipue until 1917.

Overall, the Cruzes succeeded in defeating the Portuguese authorities for more than eighty years and caused more deaths than any rebel family or political coalition during the course of Portuguese military history in Mozambique, including even the expeditions against Gungunhana and the Namarrais. In fact, in their struggle against the Cruz family, the Portuguese lost no fewer than three ranking officers and three governors, more than 750 white soldiers, and thousands of Africans.

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DEGREDDADO. Exiled criminal from Portugal or India (Goa, Damão e Diu) sent to the Portuguese colonies to serve as a soldier, settler, or even as a civil servant. Often accompanied by female prostitutes, orphans, widows, or women of dubious reputation and criminals, the degredados flocked into the colony of Mozambique and occupied prominent positions, particularly during the nineteenth century. Although this policy was generally opposed by Mozambique governors and army officers, the Lisbon authorities continued to send unwanted criminals to Mozambique. Most degredados were undisciplined and ignorant, and led shameful lives in the colony to the embarrassment of decent Portuguese citizens. Most did not survive the rigors of their new life and the hostile climate. In 1860, for example, Governor-General João Tavares de Almeida wrote: "Among the degredados sent to this Province, many are sick and incapable of doing any service, either because of their advanced age or due to previous illnesses contracted in jail or during the voyage. When they arrive in the Province, they almost all die during the first rains and the season of fevers. While their transportation has been enormously costly, those who survive lead miserably sick lives and are incapable of earning a living and serving in the army—their only means of sustenance once they are caught up in the country's fever." Instances of violence among the degredados themselves were also common.

DELAGOA BAY (Baía da Lagoa). Inlet of the Indian Ocean into the coast of Mozambique where the port of Maputo (former Lourenço Marques) is located. It is also the name originally associated with the (Delagoa Bay) railway built by Edward McMurdo between the Bay and Pretoria (1887-1895). Seaman António do Campo, captain of one of the twenty ships accompanying Vasco da Gama during his second voyage to India in 1502, "discovered" the Baía and named it Baía da Lagoa. In 1544, Lourenço Marques explored the Bay and opened it to Portuguese vessels trafficking ivory and slaves. Until the nineteenth century, practically all European powers disputed Portuguese claims over the Bay. (The dispute with Britain was finally submitted for arbitration to French President MacMahon in 1872. The British lost the claim.) Twenty-two miles long, the Delagoa Bay, now called the Baía do Maputo, is twenty-six miles long and twenty-two miles wide, landlocked on three sides and surrounded by Inhaca Peninsula in the east, Inhaca Island north of the Peninsula, and open on its northern side. The following rivers flow into the Bay: Nkomati, Maputo, and the Rio do Espírito Santo estuary, made up of Rivers Matola, Tembe, and Umbeluzi.

DHLAKAMA, Afonso (1953-). Second president of RENAMO. Born at Mangunde, Chibabave, Sofala province on January 1, 1953, Dhlakama attended a Catholic Seminary and a commercial school at Beira, where he graduated in 1969. Dhlakama worked as a clerk in Beira until 1973, when he joined FRELIMO. Dhlakama was made the Logistics Provincial Commander of Sofala Province and was responsible for military supplies. Like André Matzangaisa, RENAMO's first president, Dhlakama was purged during the 1974-75 anti-corruption campaign, was sent to a reeducation camp, escaped, and joined RENAMO at Chimanimani in 1977. Following Matzangaisa's death in 1979, in mid-1980, after defeating two factions within the resistance movement, Dhlakama, enjoying the support of Orlando Christina, one of RENAMO's founders, was declared president of RENAMO. In August 1985, he escaped a concerted assault on his Gorongozo headquarters by FRELIMO and Zimbabwe parachutists. Since then, he has eluded some of the best organized FRELIMO ambushes in the Gorongozo area, and, in 1988, assured of himself, he began travelling abroad. Dhlakama is a determined leader who knows exactly how to elude and demoralize FRELIMO's soldiers; although he did not fight in the liberation war, Dhlakama has behaved as a master of guerrilla tactics and enjoys the unquestionable loyalty of his followers. One of his problems has been the inability to attract some of the best educated minds who could provide intellectual coherence to his philosophy and articulate it abroad and thus bring credibility to his movement. At present, some who claim to represent him abroad are actually doing him more harm than good as they continue to vie for control of the movement's external affairs in Portugal, West Germany, Canada, and the United States at the expense of unity. Dhlakama is reported to prepare for travel abroad to garner international support for RENAMO.

DIARIO DE LOURENÇO MARQUES (1952-1975). The Diário de Lourenço Marques, formerly The Guardian of Lourenço Marques, was purchased by the Archbishop of Lourenço Marques, Dom Teodósio Clemente de Gouveia in 1952. It ceased its publication at the time of independence.

DIARIO DE MOÇAMBIQUE (1951-1971). O Diário de Moçambique was the first Catholic newspaper in the colony, founded by the Bishop of Beira, Dom Sebastião Soares de Resende. Because of its critical attitude towards Portuguese colonialism, O Diário was suspended for thirty days in 1968 and soon thereafter was sold to Portuguese engineer Jorge Pereira Jardim. It ran out of circulation in 1971 but resumed in 1981.

DIAS, João (1926-1949). Son of Estácio Dias, one of the editors of the Brado Africano, Dias was born in Mozambique and died in Portugal. He studied at the Universities of Coimbra and Lisbon. He was a story writer whose writings include Godido e outros contos, published posthumously in 1965, and Poetas e contistas africanos de expressão portuguesa, published in 1963.

DIVISÃO DE EXPLORAÇÃO DE TRANSPORTES AEREOS (DETA). The Mozambique airline and air transport authority (DETA) was established in 1936. By 1950, DETA linked some twenty Mozambique cities. Along with Portuguese Transport Airlines (TAP), Central African Airways (CAA), and South African Airways (SA), DETA provided national and international flights during the colonial period. In 1984, Mozambique's three international airports provided service to 399,300 air passengers and handled 9,800 metric tons of freight. DETA has now been replaced by LTA, which is international, and by TTA for domestic flights. Since the roads and rail systems are unsafe for the present, more pressure is exerted on air transport of goods and passengers.

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ECONOMY. Mozambique's economy has suffered from the legacies of the colonial past, the factors that have generally affected the international economy, and the current internal political crisis. The Portuguese arrived in Mozambique in 1498, but their major interest was India with its spices and not Mozambique. However, once they learned of the existence of much gold and silver in the territory, they soon claimed it as theirs. During the early days of colonization, the Portuguese devoted their attention to building forts to protect their occupied areas against the Arabs and Africans all along the coast and the Zambezi valley, and established feiras (trading centers) as far as Zimbabwe or Mwunemutapa for the exchange of items such as gold, silver, cloth, ivory, animal skins, and agricultural products. They consistently used force whenever they encountered a recalcitrant Arab sultan (cheick) or an African

chief or king. Quite often, they suffered severe casualties at the hands of the conquered and eventually, during the nineteenth century, lost most of the east coast and were left with Mozambique alone, controlling effectively only the coastal towns--Sofala, Angoche (temporarily), Quelimane, and Lourenço Marques--and the Zambezi valley, where prazeros such as the Pereira and the Cruz families defied their authority.

During the mid-seventeenth century, to guarantee sovereignty in the areas occupied and claimed as Portuguese and to promote economic development, particularly agriculture, the government transplanted the European institution of the prazo into the colony, allowing Portuguese citizens to lease land for a period of three generations, inheritance falling according to law on the female offspring, who would marry a white Portuguese. In practice, the prazeros relied on slave labor, raised armies of Africans to defy both the Portuguese government and the African traditional authorities, and did practically nothing to develop the land. Some prazeros, on acreage larger than Portugal itself, grew only a subsistence amount of crops such as rice, corn, millet, sorghum, cotton, and cassava. The experiment was so disastrous that, at various times during the mid-nineteenth century, the government attempted to abolish or radically reform it. The reform measures did not work, however, even after a formal inquiry in 1888-89 which pronounced the institution corrupt, violent, and unsuccessful. Its advocates were still able to save the prazo system. It was, however, beyond repair, and was abolished in 1930.

During the 1890s, the government, threatened by more powerful nations, decided to employ monopolistic companies that would indeed safeguard Portuguese sovereignty and, at the same time, develop the agricultural sector. Thus, the Mozambique Company, the Nyasa Company, and the Zambezia Company, to name just the three most important concessionaires, were given more than two-thirds of the colony for a period of between fifteen and fifty years, with all the rights of sovereign corporations. The companies concentrated their efforts on growing certain export crops and on extractive light industries such as sugar cane, palm trees, cocoa trees, sisal, and cashew nuts. Using forced African labor to achieve their goals, they maintained plantations on large tracts of land, expropriated land from the Africans, collected taxes from their laborers and the inhabitants within their jurisdiction, and paid some attention to animal husbandry, raising cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats. The Mozambique Company was instrumental in building new towns and cities, schools, and roads. However, the limited progress they made was for the benefit of the Europeans. The Africans went from a condition of slaves in the Mozambique prazos and on the French islands and Brazilian plantations to forced laborers working for minimum salaries away from their families. After the signing of the Mozambique Convention in 1909, thousands of Mozambicans went to work in the South African gold and diamond mines every year.

As the inefficiency of the companies became obvious and the

colony made no visible progress, the New State under António de Oliveira Salazar finally abolished the monopolistic companies and distributed the land to the few Portuguese settlers during the 1940s and 1950s. Since 1918, certain areas, similar to American Indian reservations, were set aside for the Africans. (Outside the reserves, Africans could occupy but not own land.) Although they were fewer than one percent of the population, the white farmers controlled 50 percent of the best arable land, with some 5,000 farms, producing export agricultural crops. The Africans were still forced to work on government plantations and projects, for private Portuguese farmers, and for companies allowed to operate in the colony. In 1928, cotton cultivation became mandatory for the Africans, who, during harvest, had to sell their crop at the low prices dictated by the multinational corporations. In 1961, the hated forced cotton cultivation was made illegal. (Beginning in 1954, non-assimilated Africans had been slowly allowed to own land without paying a fee, or *foro*, for it.) Cotton monopoly by companies was abolished in 1966.

Although industry was considered to be important in the 1960s, invariably it targeted food processing and mineral extraction, particularly coal. Cement, textiles, and soft drinks also became important industrial items. It was against this backdrop that FRELIMO, once it had inherited the colony from the Portuguese in 1975, decided to change radically the economic direction of the colony. A presidential stroke of the pen in 1978 nationalized all land and farms, businesses, banks, the housing industry, schools, hospitals, and legal and medical practices. Peasant cooperatives (co-ops) and communal villages of at least 50 to 2,000 people were instituted in 1975-76 (there were 180 such collective farms in 1977), and factory workers were organized into production councils to manage their own affairs under the party's guidance. It was a reversal of colonial capitalism: Marxism-Leninism became the official economic philosophy of the new republic, based on the premise that FRELIMO, as a vanguard party, had to bring together the peasants and the workers as allies--the peasants being the "principal force," while the workers would be the "leading force"--that would eliminate bourgeois aspirations and exploitation of the masses. In socialist terminology, agriculture was to become the basis of the economy, and industry would be "the dynamizing force."

However, as the socialist experiment began to encounter serious setbacks internally and abroad, President Samora Machel toned down his Marxist rhetoric, travelled abroad to garner political and financial support, and opened up the country to moderate private enterprise--a campaign that did not lure a significant number of businessmen and investors from abroad, but compelled the state to sell its "people's shops" and, as an incentive, to allow individual profit in economic ventures. Subsequently, drought, attacks by the Mozambique National Resistance Movement, and military and economic pressures from South Africa that scraped the Mozambique Convention at its core (refusing to sell Mozambique gold at the lower price) paralyzed the country. South Africa's

reversal cost Mozambique, from 1978 to 1984, some \$2.6 billion in foreign exchange earnings which would not only have assisted the nation in the payment of its debts but would also have provided a cushion to its huge deficits.

Mozambique's problems with South Africa were further exacerbated in 1976, when Mozambique, to show its solidarity with the Zimbabwean nationalists and to comply with United Nations sanctions imposed on the government of Ian Smith, closed its transit routes to Rhodesian goods, a move that cost the country some \$550 million between 1976 and 1980. Furthermore, South Africa reduced the number of Mozambique miners to fewer than 50,000 during the 1980s and, in 1986, refused not only to accept new recruits from Mozambique to work in the mines but also to renew the contracts of those already working there (about 65,665), alleging that FRELIMO was still assisting the ANC. In January 1978, however, South Africa tempered its restrictions and announced that at least 30,000 Mozambican workers would be welcomed once again. Meanwhile, the country was in a deep economic crisis in every sector: agriculture, industry, trade, and tourism. Undoubtedly, the flight of Portuguese business owners, hotel managers, technicians, and others in critical developmental positions aggravated the economic situation immediately following independence. On the other hand, the state farms, which comprised 350 acres in 1981, had become so expensive and unproductive (they yielded only a half a ton of corn per acre) that the plan to expand them to cover 2.5 million new acres was abandoned by the Fourth FRELIMO Congress in 1984.

The following figures illustrate the economic conditions in Mozambique, especially in reference to the last few years. In 1944, the 791,000 cotton growers produced 64,000 metric tons of cotton. The production declined to 34,939 tons in 1957 (when some 529,000 Africans were engaged in its production), and to 32,400 tons in 1964. However, although it dramatically rose to 80,000 tons in 1977 (at a time when 500,000 Africans were still growing the crop), it declined to 19,600 tons in 1981. By 1984, production had plummeted to 5,300. Cashew nut production stood at 1.24 million metric tons in 1964, but declined to 18,000 tons in 1981, and to 3,800 in 1984. The same trend affected sugar production: 83.3 thousand metric tons in 1964; 165,042 tons in 1965; 227,823 in 1975; 177,200 in 1982; down to 39,000 tons in 1984. Copra production: 50,000 tons in 1965; 45,507 tons in 1967; 43,507 tons in 1972; but rising to 60,000 in 1980 and to a mere 65,000 by 1985. Tea production figures have not been encouraging either: 9,000 tons (exported) in 1963; 10,746 in 1964; and 18,795 in 1973. Production rose to 22,200 tons in 1981 but declined to 12,800 in 1984.

Insofar as sisal is concerned, the figures have fluctuated as follows: 31,600 tons in 1964; 30,972 in 1965; 22,000 tons in 1974; down to a mere 2,000 tons in 1985. Rice: 22,000 tons in 1953; 45,000 in 1982; down to 19,100 tons in 1984. The same decline is noticeable in corn production: 89,600 tons during 1981-82; down to 82,600 in 1983-84. Cement output: 200,000 metric tons in 1956;

610,000 tons in 1973; down to 260,000 tons in 1982; and further down to 110,000 tons at the end of 1984. While industrial production stood at 25,000 tons in 1982 and 15,000 tons in 1984, cooking oil stood at 21,900 tons in 1982 and at only 7,600 tons by 1984. Wood production, on the other hand, declined from 38,839 tons in 1982 to 3,178 tons by 1984. The construction industry, however, has done relatively well. In 1964, Mozambique built 638 new units; between 1977 and 1981, construction rose by 25 percent, and by a further 4.4 percent in 1982. A reasonable rate of productivity was also sustained in the fishing industry, which produced 42,100 metric tons in 1981; 39,700 tons in 1982; and 42,400 tons in 1983. In 1984, it contributed by 29 percent to Mozambique export earnings. Also, 1984 was the year when South Africa began providing a R2 million package assistance to Mozambique for the expansion of its fishing industry. Overall, 1981 proved to be the best year Mozambique experienced following independence.

In the agricultural sector, the severity of the economic conditions in Mozambique is illustrated by the fact that only 5 percent of the arable land is cultivated at present. Between 1977 and 1981 agricultural production rose by 8.8 percent to decline by 2.4 percent in 1982. Experts have estimated that in 1986 agricultural production declined by 20 percent and market farm products by 15 percent. Furthermore, industrial production fell by about a half between 1981 and 1984, from MT26.4 million to MT15.5 million, while the GNP fell from MT83.7 billion to MT55.6 billion during the same period. (In 1985, the GNP stood at \$2.2 billion.) On the other hand, external debt, which was \$244 million in 1978, climbed to a staggering \$2.4 billion in 1984 (\$1.4 million to the West), slightly falling to \$1.224 billion in 1985. The burden of the public debt forced the government to renegotiate its loans with Western Europe, particularly France, in 1986, while Sweden simply wrote off its \$18 million loan to Mozambique. By 1987, however, the debt apparently had been reduced to \$2.8 million. The trade balance has been negative since the pre-independence period--\$474 million in 1984, imports declining rapidly by 50 percent, namely, from MT280.7 billion in 1981 to a mere MT137 billion by 1983 and to MT95.6 million in 1984--due to a lack of capital. Furthermore, the country experienced a further 20 percent decline in overall production in 1985. The deficit stood at MT16.48 billion in 1981 but dropped to MT9.98 billion (\$250 million) in 1984 due to international assistance, which amounted to MT7.12 billion in 1984. While state income was estimated at MT19.5 billion in 1986, expenditures totalled MT26.7 billion, military cost rising from 33 percent in 1985 to 42 percent in 1986.

These conditions and the effects of the drought and the Mozambique National Resistance Movement have caused severe famine and suffering in the country, especially in 1986. According to United Nations estimates, Mozambique needed some 670,000 metric tons of food assistance in 1987-88, worth some \$247 million. (The United States pledged to send 194,000 tons of food and the EEC countries 105,000 tons in 1987.) Meanwhile, the metical (worth

97.9 meticaís to a U.S. dollar in 1983-84), has fluctuated unpredictably. In 1986, for example, one dollar was worth between MT39 and MT43, but in Maputo people were exchanging the dollar at the rate of MT1,000 to MT1,800 on the black market. To minimize the crisis, the government decided to devalue the currency by 80 percent in 1987 and secure an agreement with the International Monetary Fund, whose conditions Mozambique had rejected in 1986.

The IMF loaned Mozambique some SDR28.67 million for 1987-90. The Mozambican government complied totally with IMF conditions in January 1987 (although its first loan of \$45 million came in 1985). Compliance became part of the so-called Programa de Reabilitação Económica (Economic Recovery Program--PRE). The PRE forced the devaluation of the metical from 40 meticaís to a dollar to 450 meticaís, lifted price controls on certain goods, laid off 14 percent of the government employees, and raised the minimum wage from 7,500 meticaís (about \$16.66 a month) to MT12,800 (\$28.40) a month. As a result, prices shot up immediately. A kilo of sugar, for example, rose to MT264, almost a 428 percent increase, and rice prices increased by 577 percent, while flour meal cost 286 percent more. In April 1988, the government also decreased food subsidies to encourage the farmer to produce more. The measures somewhat paid off, as family farm food production reached 34 tons in 1987, higher than at any time during the independence period. Furthermore, industrial production rose by 18 percent. In June 1987, the government had to again devalue the metical by another 49.5 percent, and prices soared to the point where most people could not afford to buy essential goods. It should be noted also that in 1985, contrary to its own Marxist philosophy, the Mozambique government lifted price controls on grains, vegetables, livestock, and electricity. Despite the fact that the move glutted the markets with consumer goods, prices increased rather than decreased, sometimes by as much as 119 percent. For example, the price of a kilogram of tomatoes is said to have gone overnight from MT30 to MT200 or MT300 in Maputo itself, and electricity cost experienced an increase of between 25 percent to 150 percent. Continuous mismanagement and corruption have aggravated the situation, despite the severe penalties the government has imposed on the guilty, even if they happen to be government employees. In 1980, for example, the death penalty was enacted to punish and deter corrupt individuals dealing in black market exchange or in similar illicit activities.

As a result of the PRE measures and further liberalization of the economy, conditions seem to have improved modestly in 1988 particularly in such cities as Maputo, Beira, Tete, Quelimane, and Nampula. However, although this was true of the cities in 1987 and 1988, things may turn to be quite different in the future, during the second phase of the PRE, when further devaluations of the currency will occur. Living in the cities will become much more expensive then, and Mozambique urban dwellers may suffer as much as the people in the countryside, where life was still

miserable at the end of 1988, as some six million people had been displaced and could not feed themselves due to a combination of adverse natural phenomena and the activities of the National Resistance Movement, which had almost paralyzed some of the most important economic projects in the country. The Marromeu sugar production and refinery plant, for example, has been abandoned. The same has happened to the Moatize coal mine, which used to employ some 2,500 workers. Furthermore, according to a 1988 report, the Cabora Bassa dam was operating at less than one percent capacity due to continuous blowups of power pylons, engineered by the MNR. During the past ten years, RENAMO is said to have destroyed some 1,800 schools, one third of Mozambique stores (about 900), and 720 health centers. According to a study done by the U.S. State Department, published in April 1988, some 100,000 people were killed between 1986 and 1988.

In 1989 and 1990, the Mozambique economic situation, in spite of some improvements, was still precarious: 85 percent of its marketed foodgrains were from imports, and its exports were less than one-fifth of the imports. Mozambique's output remained at one-fourth of the pre-independence period, while five million of its people depended on food aid. Annual export earnings of \$100 million represented "only one fortieth of the country's foreign debt." It would appear, however, that sustained adherence to the IMF austerity program would ultimately improve the situation, particularly if negotiations with the MNR were to bear fruit. In fact, as a result of the program, the country's GDP resumed its growth at 4 percent per year, as the following table illustrates.

Projected Growth Rates in Mozambique (%)

	<u>1988</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1990</u>	<u>1991</u>
Industry	5.1	11.0	8.0	6.0
Agriculture	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0
Services	4.0	4.3	4.5	4.0
Consumption	8.5	6.4	5.9	5.4
Investment	13.6	20.7	4.0	1.3
Exports (goods)	1.9	16.8	13.9	11.7
Imports (goods)	6.4	8.5	6.6	4.8
GDP	4.1	5.0	4.7	4.3

Source: Africa Research Bulletin, June 30, 1989, p. 9566.

EDUCATION. The Portuguese regarded the education of Africans as secondary, designed only to make them realize the greatness of the mother country and appreciate the value of work. The Portuguese civilizing mission was intricately related to an effort by the colonizers to force the African to abandon his "innate laziness" and embrace Christianity. Whatever dismal education Africans received, it emphasized teaching them how to read and write, and speak Portuguese. The subjects stressed were the history and geography of Portugal, morals and civics, grammar, and religion.

Unfortunately, statistics on education are hard to come by, even in the archives. Archival sources mention that the first primary school in Mozambique was built by priests at the convent of Saint Domingos on the Mozambique Island in 1799. They also show that the government completely neglected education elsewhere in Mozambique for both African and European children until April 11, 1845, when a decree authorized the creation of the first public schools in the colony and specified that students should be taught "history, writing, Christianity, principles of geography, sacred history, Portuguese grammar, linear drawing, business writing, Latin, and French." Thus, by 1849, nine primary schools had been built in the major towns, staffed by eleven poorly paid teachers. They received between 18\$000-60\$000 a year.

In 1857, a "principal" (secondary) school was created on the Mozambique Island. It enrolled 63 students in 1858 and, to prove that the government was seriously committed to education, provided for the creation of *Conselhos Inspectores de Instrução Pública* (inspecting councils) to supervise the educational effort. Not much was noticeable in terms of progress, however, as, by 1874, there were only 332 students in the whole colony, of whom only 125 were black. In 1900, the number of students rose to 1,195; a decade later, the number of primary schools had risen to 48. Yet, no secondary schools were available. In 1913, the anti-clerical Republic attempted to replace the Catholic Church as far as teaching was concerned and sent the so-called *Missões Laicas Civilizadoras* (lay civilizing brigades) throughout the colony to take over primary education. The experiment ended in failure and was, therefore, discontinued.

In 1918, Mozambique had its first secondary school--the *Licéu Nacional Sidónio Pais*--later known as the *Licéu Nacional 5 de Outubro*--at Lourenço Marques. Enrollment figures continued to grow throughout the colony but at a very slow pace. In 1929, for example, the 258 schools had an enrollment of 30,613 students, although most of them attended missionary school. With the signing of the 1941 Missionary Statute, the Catholic Church's involvement in education increased tremendously. Thus, government-sponsored schools numbered only 63 in the 1950-51 school year, taught by 164 teachers, with a student population of 5,055; private schools enrolled 931 students only. By 1956, the total number of students in primary schools rose to 253,000. In the following year, approximately 296,000 out of 900,000 school-age children attended school. However, of the 2,040 rudimentary schools, only 40 were government-run.

In 1960, the number of government schools totaled 191, Catholic missions ran 3,162 schools, while the Protestants owned 61: a total of 3,414 schools, an increase of 153 percent over 1967. In the 1963-64 school year, 34,000 more students enrolled in 3,920 schools taught by 7,921 teachers. During the 1964-65 school year, however, the total numbers were: 426,904 primary schools; 19,761 secondary schools; and the University of General Studies, inaugurated that year. According to United Nations statistics 635,000

students attended school in Mozambique in 1971-72, 595,000 in primary school and 40,000 in secondary and technical schools. When the Portuguese left Mozambique in 1975, 600,000 students were enrolled in school, out of a population of 9 million, with an illiteracy rate of 95 percent. Whereas the colonial government spent less than 3 percent of its budget for education, the FRELIMO government apportions more than 15 percent to education (4.071 million meticaïs out of 22.07 million meticaïs in 1984).

Due to FRELIMO's expansion of educational opportunities, the number of secondary schools increased from 20,000 in 1974 to 135,000 in 1981, while the number of children enrolled in primary schools rose from 700,000 in 1974 to 1.376 million by 1981. The numbers continued to increase thereafter, to the extent that FRELIMO was able to decrease illiteracy in the country from 95 percent to 75 percent by 1988. While the primary schools registered 1,376,865 students taught by 18,751 teachers in 1981, the secondary schools enrolled 135,956 students taught by 3,784 teachers; the number of pre-university and university students stood at 3,886 with a faculty numbering 157.

During the colonial period, the system had been plagued with a lack of funds; teachers had no incentives, as their salary could be compared to that of forced laborers, and the government-run schools discriminated against Africans in favor of white and mestizço children. In 1953-54, for example, the racial ratio in primary schools was 5,177 Africans to 4,412 whites, almost a one-to-one ratio, notwithstanding the fact that the Portuguese population was not higher than 200,000. On the secondary level, 800 white students enrolled in the licéus, compared to only 5 Africans. Moreover, 803 white students were registered in commercial institutions, contrasted to only 73 Africans. In 1966, the number of university students stood at 540, but only one was a Mozambican African. Furthermore, in 1970, of the 627,319 students, 550,701 were black, 59,941 white, 6,850 Indian, 7,795 mistos, and 2,034 "yellow."

To foster patriotism, students were forbidden to speak their maternal languages, and classes had been taught in Portuguese since 1920. To facilitate this assimilation process, the Portuguese created a few schools for the training of teachers in the colony: the normal schools at Boroma (the oldest was founded in the 1890s) and Alvor at Manhica (1926), which registered 73 students in 1928. In general, the educational system in the Portuguese colonies was thus organized: the ensino de adaptação (two to three years); the ensino primário comum (three to four years); licéus e colégios, or secondary schools (7 years); escolas normais (teacher training schools); escolas de artes e ofícios (trade and business schools); escolas de agricultura (agricultural schools); and Seminários Católicos (Catholic seminaries), which provided an equivalent to both the ensino primário comum and the licéu.

The constant indoctrination that went on in the schools on the virtues of assimilation succeeded in creating assimilated individuals who sometimes despised their own culture and attempted to behave as whites. This partly explains why the Portuguese colonies were

slow in demanding their independence. The teaching methods were antiquated, as memorization was emphasized. Textbooks were hardly available. The palmatória (a wooden device shaped like a hand with holes that sucked the flesh from the victim's hand) and the cavalo marinho (animal-skin whip) were both used extensively in the schools. The buildings where education took place were miserable: most often they consisted of a wood-and-mud structure with logs as desks for students. The only schools that looked decent were those run by the state, although many of the missionaries did their best with the meager finances allocated for education, which amounted to less than one percent of the colony's budget. Overall, the educational conditions remained precarious in the colony. In this respect, FRELIMO made gigantic inroads against illiteracy and toward the improvement of educational opportunities for all Mozambicans, regardless of race. Recently, however, FRELIMO's efforts have been thwarted by the activities of the MNR, which reportedly has destroyed or forced the closing of more than 200 schools, halting the education of some 113,000 students.

ELECTIONS (FRELIMO). FRELIMO's electoral process calls for cells to elect local assemblies; these elect district assemblies, which in turn elect municipal assemblies. The latter elect provincial assemblies. The Popular Assembly, which is the highest legislative body in the country (with more than 220 members in 1977), is appointed by the Central Committee (a body of 130 members in 1987) and not popularly elected. The majority of the members of the Popular Assembly are peasants. Workers, men and women, and representatives from the Armed Forces, from the masses, and from significant organizations make up part of the Assembly.

ELECTOR (Electorate). According to a 1963 law, males over twenty-one years of age who could write and read Portuguese were eligible to vote in colonial as well as Portuguese national elections. Illiterate males and females over twenty-one could vote if they were heads of family. Females were allowed to vote if they had an education equivalent of the first three years of high school or were taxpayers.

ENES, António (1848-1901). Portuguese writer, politician, librarian, and statesman, Enes became keenly interested in colonial matters after his appointment as Minister of the Navy during the government of João Crisóstomo, in the aftermath of the British Ultimatum. In 1891, Enes was sent to Mozambique to enforce the terms of the June 11 treaty signed that year with England, stemming from the ultimatum. In 1895, António Enes assumed the office of Royal Commissioner of Mozambique, with the specific mission of terminating Gungunhana's threat in Gaza and in the Lourenço Marques district. His mission accomplished, Enes promulgated several laws to force Mozambicans to work, and reorganized the colony's administration. No friend of Africans, Enes scorned their assimilation and strongly

advocated the use of concessionaire companies to develop the colony. His most celebrated written work, Mozambique, was published in 1893.

ESTADO NOVO. The period of Portuguese history inaugurated by the assumption of power by Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar in 1926, following the overthrow of the Republic by the army. The Estado Novo was characterized by a strong anti-communistic current, a tilt towards corporate fascism, and alliance with the Catholic Church. Salazar viewed the colonies as sources of manpower and raw materials for the benefit of the mother country. During his tenure as Prime Minister (1933-1968), forced labor was intensified, a sharper distinction was made between the indigenas and non-indigenas (assimilated, a status which became much more difficult to achieve), and systematic repression of any freedoms was instituted with the creation of the Polícia Internacional da Defesa do Estado (PIDE) in 1957. To ensure national control of resources, Salazar abolished the early monopolistic companies and accelerated colonization through the settlement of Portuguese colonos who arrived in unprecedented large numbers from the metropolis. As was his ruling style in the metropolis, Salazar governed the colonies with an iron fist. The colonial policies which he drafted when he was Minister of Colonies for a brief period were embodied in the 1930 Colonial Act and became part of the 1933 Portuguese Constitution. His repressive colonial policies and the denial of independence to the colonies, however, were met by resistance from colonial Africans, who eventually declared a liberation war against Portugal.

ETHNIC GROUPS. Mozambique is inhabited by at least ten major ethnic groups and dozens of subgroups. The major ones include the Macua-Lomwe, Ajao, Nguni, Tonga, Chope, Shona, Maconde, Maravi, Chicunda, and the Nyungwe. The numerical composition is as follows: Macua-Lomwe, 47%; Tonga, 24%; Maravi, 12%; Shona, 12%; Ajao (Yao), 3%; Swahili, 7%; Maconde, 0.5%; Portuguese, 0.2%; and others, 0.6%.

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FEIRA (fair or market). Promoted by the Portuguese during the early years of the discoveries. The Portuguese established feiras in every major settlement along the coast, such as Sofala, Luanda, Bissau, Quelimane, Lourenço Marques, Mombasa, Malindi, and Zimbabwe, although, with time, the term was used more often for markets opened up in the hinterland of the colonies.

FIRST, Ruth. African National Conference (ANC) ideologue killed on August 17, 1982 by a bomb explosion at her office at the University of Eduardo Mondlane. She was a white South African anti-apartheid activist and a political writer.

FLAG (Mozambican). The Mozambique flag has four wedge-shaped diagonal stripes in green, black and yellow, linked by white bands. A book, topped by a gun and a hoe, is enclosed in a white cog-wheel.

FLECHA(S). Airborne commando-trained units established in 1973 by the Portuguese secret police (PIDE/DGS) on the Rhodesian frontier to combat nationalist insurgency. The units consisted of no more than twelve men, predominantly African, had a military and intelligence gathering mission, and operated independently from the police and the army.

FREIRE, Albuquerque (1935-). Mozambican poet, author of many poems including O livro dos sonetos and Canção negra e outros poemas, both published in 1960.

FRELIMO. See: Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

FRENTE DE LIBERTAÇÃO DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique Liberation Front--FRELIMO). A liberation front organized in June 1962 by Mozambican nationalists against Portuguese colonialism. Initially, FRELIMO was a combination of three revolutionary movements formed by Mozambicans working and living abroad, namely: the União Democrática Nacional de Moçambique (Mozambique National Democratic Union--UDENAMO), established in Salisbury in 1960; the African Union of Independent Mozambique (União Nacional de Moçambique Independente--UNAMI), created in Blantyre by Tete exiles in 1961; and the União Nacional Africana de Moçambique (Mozambique African National Union--MANU), based in Mombasa, Kenya, in 1961. At first, the diverse and dispersed nationalist movements viewed each other with suspicion and refused to form a united front that would pose a real threat to Portugal. In 1961, however, a Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Territories was held in Casablanca, and UDENAMO participated in it. The conference called for unity. Simultaneously, President Kwame Nkrumah and Julius Nyêrere, both urged the movements to unite. The three liberation movements heeded the call and finally met in Dar-es-Salaam. On June 25, 1962, FRELIMO emerged out of the delicate negotiations. As a compromise, to ensure that none of the former leaders would assume the Front's leadership and thus create potential rivalries, Eduardo Chivambo Mondlane, Professor at Syracuse University, was invited to become the president of the new Front. Educated and enjoying some notoriety in the United States, Mondlane, who had refused to join any of the movements but had urged them to unite instead, proved to be an effective leader. On September 25, 1964, FRELIMO launched its first armed attack against the Portuguese government in Mozambique.

FRELIMO began its incursions out of its bases in Tanzania from Cabo Delgado at Niassa, and, by 1974, its guerrillas had reached Tete, liberating more than one-fifth of the national territory. From

a handful of 250 fighting men in 1964, FRELIMO had successfully enlisted some 8,000 guerrilla fighters by 1967, while the Portuguese commanded a force of at least 60,000 troops. Fighting simultaneously in three colonies against determined Africans who were assisted by the Soviet Union, East European countries, and China (and backed by international opinion), detached from the mother country thousands of miles away in Europe, and unaccustomed to the rugged colonial terrain, the Portuguese troops were unable to stop the tide of the revolution led by FRELIMO. While casualties mounted on the Portuguese side, communications were constantly disrupted between the major cities, and the population was no longer trustworthy because many Mozambicans sympathized with FRELIMO. In Portugal, despite efforts to silence criticism of the conduct of the war, the army was demoralized and the people horrified not only by the casualties but also by the cost of the war. Unexpectedly, on April 25, 1974, the army toppled Premier Marcello Caetano's government in Lisbon and began negotiations with the revolutionary movements in the colonies. In September 1974, the Lusaka Agreement was signed in Zambia, allowing a transitional government in Mozambique made up of FRELIMO and Portuguese representatives. Joaquim Chissano, a prominent member of the Central Committee and chief representative of FRELIMO in Dar-es-Salaam, assumed the position of premier of the Transitional Government.

FRELIMO's initial emphasis on territorial liberation as the highest priority obscured its long-range plans for the future government of Mozambique. FRELIMO officials were convinced that independence would be won only after many years of war and therefore were as surprised as anyone else when the fighting ended abruptly in 1974. Until the death of Dr. Mondlane in 1969 and the expulsion from the party of Urias Simango, the former vice-president of FRELIMO who had dared to criticize the Central Committee and claimed that the adoption of "scientific socialism" had created divisiveness within the party, FRELIMO did not have a clear and concrete plan to lead the future nation, which would be plagued with insurmountable economic and social ills. In fact, no one was clear as to whether the new nation would be a democratic, Western-style republic, an oligarchy of the Central Committee on the Eastern-bloc model, or simply an authoritarian regime under a Marxist-Leninist dictator. With the ascendancy of Machel to the presidency of the movement in 1970, however, and the growing influence of Marcelino dos Santos, Secretary for External Affairs, and Mariano Matsinha, Deputy for Administration, it became apparent that the Marxist-Leninist hardliners would triumph and chart a socialist course for future Mozambique.

To maximize its military victories, the Front set up health centers, schools, and cooperatives in the liberated areas, thus gaining the heart of the people and beginning to implement its as yet undeveloped policies. Interestingly enough, FRELIMO never declared itself, as the MPLA did in Angola, a government in exile. As its goals and objectives began to be refined, however, FRELIMO solidly

stood for the nationalization of the means of production, limitation to private property, the collectivization of farms under peasants alongside state farms, and the expropriation of foreign-owned businesses and property. It also advocated the primacy of the party over the state, the discouragement or abolition of religion, the rapid elimination of illiteracy (including adult illiteracy through the use of party agents known as "dinamizadores"), the delegation of authority to people's assemblies, the emancipation of women (who had actively participated in the liberation war), the support of liberation movements in Zimbabwe and Namibia, and the elimination of racism in South Africa. These principles and goals were eventually introduced in independent Mozambique, especially during the 1975-77 period. However, their implementation was so hastily done that, instead of helping to rebuild the war-torn country, they contributed to economic chaos and further social dislocation which bred discontent, especially among the peasants who were often forcibly removed from their lands to work in collective farms. The policy created a favorable ground for the Mozambique National Resistance Movement (RENAMO), which had begun its operations in Southern Rhodesia as soon as FRELIMO assumed power.

Internal political crises, exacerbated by the debilitating economic conditions and the psychological impact of RENAMO, forced the Central Committee of FRELIMO to relax its nationalization policy and encourage the return of those Portuguese businessmen and technicians who, intimidated by the new policies, had left the country. Foreign investors were invited in, the Marxist rhetoric toned down, exiles invited back. Machel traveled to the West, including Portugal, to temper the radical image of his state, solicit financial assistance, and garner military support. Confronted with the stranglehold posed by apartheid on the subcontinent and wishing to see South Africans free, Mozambique had openly supported the African National Congress, as it had successfully done with Robert Mugabe's Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). South Africa retaliated militarily and economically and stepped up its assistance to the Mozambique National Resistance Movement. The internal and international pressures became so unbearable that Machel accepted a formal treaty with South Africa which bound the two sides not to interfere in each other's internal affairs. Essentially, Mozambique pledged to deny military bases to the ANC, while South Africa would stop assisting RENAMO. While Mozambique adhered to its part of the bargain, South Africa did not. Worsening the situation was the sudden death of Machel in an airplane crash in South African territory on October 19, 1986. Mozambique Foreign Minister Joaquim Chissano assumed the presidency in November 1986, but the prospects for the country's stability remained grim, notwithstanding the fact that the new president was reputed to be a shrewder statesman than his predecessor.

FRELIMO has a complex political structure. The People's Assembly is the highest political body and the "supreme organ of the state," made up of members of a large Central Committee, the Executive Committee, provincial governors, the Ministerial Council, two

provincial representatives, and elected citizens representing all walks of life. Meeting every two years, the People's Assembly elects members of the Central Committee, which in turn decides on the make-up of the executive. A Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly (initially made up of a dozen members) oversees the functioning of the party and the nation during inter-sessions. Although at present the party is examining the relation between itself and the state, the president of FRELIMO is also the president of the Republic of Mozambique and commander-in-chief of the Mozambique People's Liberation Forces (FPLM). He appoints his Ministerial Council. In case the president dies suddenly, is removed from office, or is incapacitated, the Central Committee (and not the People's Assembly) serves in the interim and appoints a new president. The president also appoints and dismisses at will provincial governors.

The constitution, ratified on June 25, 1975, guarantees individual freedoms, including religious freedom, and upholds universal suffrage for those at least eighteen years of age. Despite these written guarantees, however, international organizations have accused Mozambique of violating human rights in the so-called "reeducation camps" and jails. Summary in-chamber and public executions of opponents, particularly RENAMO suspects, have occurred in the country. On December 17, 1987, FRELIMO adopted a six-month amnesty for all RENAMO collaborators. By November 1988, the government claimed that 2,000 sympathizers or guerrillas had turned themselves in. A dialogue with the country's Christian and Muslim leaders has improved Church and State relations, which had turned sour during the first five years of FRELIMO's rule. The Catholic Church presented a special problem, as it was accused of having collaborated with the colonial state and was suspected of favoring RENAMO's activities. The Pope's visit to Mozambique in September 1988 further contributed to a better atmosphere between the Catholic Church and the secular state.

After years of refusal to negotiate with RENAMO on account of its being "a gang of armed bandits," FRELIMO's change of heart surfaced when Joaquim Chissano authorized the Catholic Church and the Mozambique Christian Church Council of seventeen denominations to initiate exploratory contacts with RENAMO representatives in Nairobi, Kenya, in August 1988. The exploratory contacts proved disappointing until February 1989 when the Archbishop of Maputo, Cardinal Alexander dos Santos, Beira Archbishop Jaime Goncalves, and Maputo Anglican Bishop Denis Sengulane met RENAMO's Army General Chief of Staff Raul Dominique and Secretary of Information Vicente Ululu. Through the clergy, both FRELIMO and RENAMO expressed the desire of establishing official contacts to initiate negotiations and end the armed conflict. Subsequently, the United States and South Africa declared their support of the effort.

The July 24-31, 1989, the Fifth FRELIMO Congress in Maputo endorsed a twelve-point "statement of principles," letting RENAMO know that the government was willing to initiate negotiations through

the mediation of President Daniel arap Moi of Kenya and Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe. In the document, however, FRELIMO asked RENAMO to renounce the use of violence, accept the Mozambique constitution, and called on RENAMO to desist its "operation of destabilization which should not be equated to a struggle between two parties." It called on Dhlakama to end "all acts of terrorism and banditry." The "Declaration of Principles" was presented by three bishops to Dhlakama and his council in Nairobi in August 1989.

RENAMO was irked by the tone of the principles which still viewed the adherents of the movement as "armed bandits." It was also dissatisfied with the statement on the inviolability of Mozambique's present constitution. In its formal reply, contained in a 16-point statement, RENAMO urged the withdrawal of Zimbabwe troops from Mozambique, while insisting on the recognition of RENAMO by FRELIMO as "an active political force" in Mozambique. While RENAMO saw the "Declaration of Principles" as nothing more than a clever way to see RENAMO's capitulation, FRELIMO considered RENAMO's response unacceptable as advocating the overthrow of the government by force and was unwilling to renounce all it had stood for during the past fifteen years, in favor of a multi-party state, a complete rewriting of the constitution, and the establishment of a market-oriented economy. Thus, hopes of a quick solution dashed, and RENAMO stepped up its activities particularly in the provinces of Zambezia, Manica, Sofala, Gaza, and Maputo, cutting off electricity to Maputo on certain occasions, and capturing the town of Luabo on the Zambezi river on August 19, 1989.

In early December 1989, however, contacts between the two parties were reestablished, and Joaquim Chissano, in an address at the meeting of Lusophone African Presidents at the city of Praia, Cape Vert, announced that presidential and general elections in Mozambique would be held in 1991 and that FRELIMO was willing to resume negotiations with RENAMO. Dhlakama's initial response was positive, although further clarification of positions on both sides were expected to follow.

The two sides had finally agreed, therefore, that a military solution was unrealistic and that both had to swallow their pride and compromise to save the country and the people from continued destruction, famine, and death.

As a result, FRELIMO and RENAMO held their first direct negotiations in Rome in the summer of 1990. Unfortunately, the talks brought no cease-fire and collapsed immediately thereafter. Events in South Africa, the belief that RENAMO had become weaker, and the potential impact of internal changes on international opinion, contributed to the hardening of FRELIMO's negotiating position. However, the most interesting development in 1989 and 1990 was FRELIMO's volte face on several fronts: continued revision of the constitution on political participation; acceptance of a multi-party state; apparent abandonment of the commitment to an extreme Marxist-Leninist philosophy; enforcement of religious freedom;

reliance on private peasant agricultural output from private plots of land; voluntarism for cooperatives; re-institution of private, state, cooperate, and peasant property; and introduction of a free market-oriented economy (endorsed by international financial institutions such as the IMF), all of which would lead to a "gradual socialization" of the country including the countryside. The party would no longer be restricted to workers and peasants but would be open to all members of the Mozambique society including those held earlier as enemies of the state such as property owners, religious citizens, and businessmen. In order to ensure support for Chissano's programs and expand popular representation, FRELIMO's Fifth Congress raised the number of the Political Bureau members from ten to twelve and those of the Central Committee from 130 to 160. Evidently, observers were waiting to see whether these measures would actually be implemented as promised.

FRIENDS OF MOZAMBIQUE. A nonprofit humanitarian foundation created in the early 1980s by Artur Vilanculo, former FRELIMO member and briefly former RENAMO representative in the United States. Vilanculo says that his organization is nonpartisan and aims to provide scholarships to Mozambican students and humanitarian aid to the people of Mozambique. Vilanculo founded the organization after a disagreement with the leaders of CUNIMO and his ouster by Dr. Luis B. Serapiao from his position as representative of RENAMO in the United States in 1986.

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GAMA, Vasco da (1469-1524). Renowned Portuguese navigator chosen by Dom Manuel I to lead the expedition to find a sea route to India ("caminho marítimo para a Índia") in 1497. Vasco da Gama sailed from Belem to India on July 8, 1497, passed the Cape of Good Hope reached ten years earlier by Bartholomeu Dias, spent Christmas at Natal (present South Africa), and reached the Mozambique coast on March 1, 1498. He disembarked at Inhambane (which he called the land of good people), proceeded to Quelimane and Mozambique island, and claimed them as Portuguese territories. He sailed up to Mombasa and Malindi (where he planted a Portuguese padrão, or landmark) and reached India in May 1498. Named the Admiral of the Indies by the Portuguese monarch, Vasco da Gama made another voyage to India (1502-1503), stopping along the coast of Mozambique. Appointed Viceroy of India in 1524, Vasco da Gama died in the same year at Cochín.

GAZA. Mozambique southern province, along the Indian Ocean, bordering Manica Province in the north, Inhambane in the east, Maputo Province in the south, and Zimbabwe and South Africa in the west. It is 32,022 square miles large, and has a population of 1,138,700 (1987 estimate). Such rivers as the Limpopo, Rio dos Elefantes, Changane, and Save flow through it and drain into

the Indian Ocean, allowing extensive irrigation and the cultivation of crops such as rice, corn, wheat, cashew nuts, cassava, sorghum and fruit (orange and lemon) trees, along with animal husbandry. Some of the agricultural products are processed locally and exported. Gaza has an important port at Xai-Xai (formerly João Belo), which is also the provincial capital.

GOUVEIA. (Dom) Clemente Teodósio de (1890-1961). Archbishop of Lourenço Marques and first Cardinal of Mozambique. Before his appointment, Dom Clemente de Gouveia had played a crucial role in the successful negotiations with the Holy See which led to the now famous Acto Missionário of May 20, 1940, and the Estatuto Missionário (Missionary Statute) of 1941. Politically, however, he was opposed to the independence of the Portuguese colonies and believed that patriotism and Portuguese Roman Catholicism were only different sides of the same coin. He vehemently warned the African seminarians (being trained in Namaacha by the priests of the Holy Sacrament, who were accused of encouraging Mozambican nationalism among the students) to stay out of politics.

GREMIO AFRICANO. An association of educated assimilated and mulatto Mozambicans created in Lourenço Marques during the 1920s, whose major demands were equality for all and an end to forced labor. Eventually, it changed its name and became the Associação Africana. As the Association began to be perceived as too moderate in its demands, some of the members, mostly Mozambican blacks, broke away and formed the Instituto Negrófilo. As a result, its membership became predominantly mulatto. The Instituto Negrófilo later took the name of Centro Associativo dos Negros de Moçambique.

GRUPOS DINAMIZADORES. The Grupos Dinamizadores (Dynamizing Groups) served as mass mobilizers in committees of twelve FRELIMO members or sympathizers, elected by the people locally, whose major function was to raise "the political consciousness" of the masses. They conducted "schools of democracy," taught people how to participate in the electoral process, and often acted as vigilantes. Local Grupos Dinamizadores were abolished in the countryside and the small towns in 1978 and allowed only in urban areas. Presently, they all have been replaced by the Grupos de Vigilância Popular (Groups of Popular Vigilance) who are tightly controlled by the National Service of the People's Security, the party, and the political police. They still act, however, as vigilantes.

GUNGUNHANA (1850-1906). Last king of the Nguni (Vatua) of the Gaza empire. He ascended to the throne in 1885, one year after the death of his father, Mzila, through a palace coup with the support of the Portuguese, who had also assisted his father in 1861. Gungunhana's first task was to thwart the Portuguese threat. Consequently, he sent his envoys to Lisbon in October

1895, a diplomatic move which resulted in a treaty of November 1895. While Portugal guaranteed Gungunhana sovereignty over the lands of his father acknowledged by a treaty of 1861, he pledged not to declare war even on his enemies without Portuguese permission and agreed to allow free commerce and transit in his territory, particularly to Portuguese citizens and subjects. Ultimately, Gungunhana was unable to abide by the treaty, as he faced constant rebellion in Gaza, Manica, and Inhambane. Furthermore, he harbored chiefs who were inimical to the Portuguese such as Maazila, Magude Chief, and Matibejane, Chief of the Zixaxa. Gungunhana often showed obvious contempt for the Portuguese and played them against the British, whom he led to believe were his allies. On more than one occasion, he met British officials or envoys of Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company who were seeking mineral concessions. The flirtation with the British ended in 1891, however, following the British Ultimatum which recognized Gazaland as falling under the Portuguese sphere of influence.

António Enes, Mozambique Royal Commissioner, entrusted Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque the task of eliminating forever the power of the Nguni kings. Thus, on December 28, 1895, following a series of battles, Mouzinho arrested Gungunhana at Chaimite. The arrest signaled the demise of the vast Nguni empire. Gungunhana's lieutenant, Maguiguane, continued the tradition of resistance against the Portuguese, but Mouzinho pursued him and finally had him killed by troops he commanded, in August 1897. Along with his son Godide and his companions, including Matibejane, Gungunhana was taken to Lisbon, where he became a great spectacle for the Portuguese. He was subsequently baptized and exiled to Azores where, after enjoying limited freedom, he died in 1906.

Gungunhana's ultimate defeat can be attributed to the constant revolt of the subjects he attempted to control, Portuguese intrigue and military tenacity, and the inconsistency of his generals who led the several mangas (batallions) of his army. The vastness of the empire, the unending pillage of cattle, the capture of women and young men in reprisal against revolt, and the exacting of heavy annual tributes presaged the eventual fall of Nguni hegemony in southern Mozambique. Simultaneously, prazeros such as Manuel de Sousa Gouveia defied Nguni power in Manica, forcing Gungunhana to shift his headquarters from there to the mouth of the Limpopo river.

During his prime, the Portuguese authorities feared Gungunhana, who was often insolent toward the governors or their representatives. For example, when the king, accompanied by 60,000 people, moved his headquarters in 1890, the governor issued orders not to obstruct his transit, even if that meant massive cattle loss due to looting by his entourage. Unfortunately, his final days as king ended in tragedy, as Mouzinho, apparently accompanied by only some 49 white soldiers, arrested Gungunhana without resistance at Chaimite. Interestingly enough, however, even at the last

minute, Gungunhana showed his royal pride and dignity. When Mouzinho, attempting to humiliate him, told him to sit down, Gungunhana refused to follow the order, claiming that the ground was dirty. This led Mouzinho to force the African king to sit, declaring thereafter that he was no longer the king of the Vatuá.

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HARBORS (ports). Mozambique is endowed with several good harbors, including Maputo (the second largest in Africa), Beira, Quelimane, Nacala, and Mozambique. These ports handled some 17 million metric tons of freight in 1974. Lately, however, due to a boycott by the South African government, government mismanagement, and the activities of RENAMO, port freight has been reduced. In 1983, for example, the Mozambique ports handled only 3.6 million tons of cargo. Mainly as a result of South African use, Maputo port alone handled 2,451,863 tons of merchandise in 1975, but the tonnage had plummeted to 3.4 million tons by 1985.

HEALTH. A lack of satisfactory and reliable data makes it impossible to ascertain accurately the state of health care services in Mozambique. During the 1980s, there were at least ten good hospitals in the major towns, the best being the Hospital Miguel Bombarda in Maputo. Just prior to independence 550 medical doctors were working in the country (most Portuguese). The number represented an increase of 139 from 1963, when the ratio was about one doctor per 1,680 persons. By 1973, however, the number had dropped to 87 as a result of the war of independence. In 1977, FRELIMO was able to recruit 500 doctors from foreign countries. Overall, FRELIMO was commended by the World Health Organization for its successful vaccination campaign against smallpox, measles, and tetanus, a campaign that reached 90 percent of the population in 1979. Maternities have more than doubled from the few that existed in the 1960s, and the same has been true of the 1,258 nurses and the 11,200 beds that were available in the entire colony in 1964. The government allocates between 6 and 10 percent of the national budget for health (1,744 million meticaís out of 22,070 million meticaís in 1984).

However, the major diseases that existed a hundred years ago continue to afflict the population. Epidemics of meningitis, cholera, influenza, and widespread cases of schistosomiasis, sleeping sickness, malaria, yellow fever, yaws, and tuberculosis are very common in the country; cure is not easy to attain due to an inadequate number of both medical centers and doctors, particularly for people living far away from the major cities and towns. Understandably, the precarious health conditions in the country are a legacy of the colonial past, when the Portuguese made very little effort to provide for the medical needs of the African population.

The first proto-hospital was built only in 1704 by Frei Francisco de São Tomas and run by the Brothers of São Joao de Deus

on the Mozambique Island. The second hospital was erected in Lourenço Marques only in 1877 (by 1912 it became known as Hospital Central Miguel Bombarda), followed by the construction of the Hospital Militar e Civil in the same city in 1917. Other major towns had either a hospital or an infirmary, such as the Enfermaria Regimental e Civil de Tete, built in 1877. All of these, however, had very limited capacity. The Tete infirmary, for example, could accommodate only 20 patients in 1907. During the early 1900s, the Portuguese instituted two schools for the training of African nurses at Lourenço Marques and Inhambane. They merged into one training center at Lourenço Marques in 1920. Ten poorly equipped hospitals existed in Mozambique during the 1907-1950 period: at Lourenço Marques, Mozambique Island, Tete, Quelimane, Inhambane, Chinde, Angoche, Memba, Chibuto, and Mossuril. The number of patients visiting the hospitals increased as the health facilities began to expand slowly. Thus, in 1825, some 2,685 patients used the health facilities; in 1925, 8,517; in 1929, the number rose to 10,938. During the 1950s, the number had more than doubled as a consequence of the decrees implemented in 1922 that created eight hospitals, which became known as Delegacias de Saude. Each Delegacia de Saude oversaw surrounding health care centers, classified into first and second class centers, depending on the availability of medicines, the number of doctors' visits, and whether or not there was a nurse in residence. Each Delegacia was asked to create as many health posts as possible, targeting its efforts primarily toward the creation of first class centers.

The number of doctors grew slowly during the colonial period. In 1883, for example, the colony had only eleven doctors. In 1907, the number had risen to 24, to 60 in 1925, and to 75 in 1930, when the ratio between doctors and the population was estimated at one per 533,000. During the 1940s, some asylums for the mentally handicapped were created, several leper houses established, and centers for the study and eradication of tropical diseases created in Lourenço Marques. Throughout the centuries, however, the government did not provide sufficient funds to build new facilities; doctors complained about the awful facilities they had to work in and with, such as the lack of windows for ventilation, mortuaries situated too close to kitchens, leaking roofs, lack of private rooms, and so on. Furthermore, hospital facilities were segregated during the colonial period, and doctors attended the white and assimilated patients first. The *indigenas*, if unable to pay, were supposed to have free consultation and medication. However, since most Africans did not live in towns, the majority of Mozambicans died without ever going to a hospital when they fell seriously ill.

During the 1920s, the government issued decrees compelling employers with more than 100 African laborers to build health facilities and provide free medical assistance to them and their families. Yet, employers often ignored these regulations. As expected, the Portuguese sent their serious patients to Lisbon,

to a special hospital catering to the colonial personnel. During this time, medical education in the colony was out of reach for the Africans. When the University of Lourenço Marques was established in 1964, it offered no medical training. Only Lisbon could provide such training and almost always to white Portuguese only, so that when independence came there were no more than five Mozambican doctors who invariably practiced medicine in Portugal and not in the colony. It was against such background in the health care service that FRELIMO had to operate when it assumed power in 1975. (See FRELIMO.)

Unfortunately, the adverse impact of RENAMO has also been felt in the health care sector. The government claims that since 1975, RENAMO has destroyed 822 health care centers. Popular participation to build the centers has decreased, and the government has been forced to charge people for the medicine dispensed. Also, maternities are not used to their full capacity as many women, afraid of the MNR, refuse to deliver at the centers and the hospitals. At present only 1,142 health centers are operational.

HIJA, TWAKALY. Cheikh of Quitangonha district in Mozambique Province who successfully challenged Portuguese garrisons in the area during the 1775-1804 period. In spite of his continuous rebellion, Hija continued to receive an annual pension from the Portuguese government.

HOMOINE MASSACRE. The massacre of 424 people, including patients and nurses at the town hospital, in late July 1987 shocked the world. FRELIMO revealed the massacre to the world and blamed RENAMO for the horrendous act. RENAMO denied responsibility and claimed, instead, that government troops had perpetrated the massacre following a brawl within the ranks of the army, which was protecting the hospital and its vicinity. An American co-operante, purporting to be a witness who survived by hiding in a shade, blamed RENAMO for the massacre. The U.S. State Department report of April 1988, based on interviews with refugees and displaced people in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, also put the blame on the resistance movement.

HONWANA, Luis Bernardo (also known as Augusto Manuel) (1942-). Honwana is a short story writer and journalist, son of an interpreter. He grew up at the outskirts of Maputo, formerly Lourenço Marques. In order to pay for the completion of his secondary school education, Honwana worked as a cartographer and a newspaper article writer. His writings, which included Nós matámos o cão-tinhoso (1964) and Dina (1967), both short stories, landed him in jail, as the Portuguese considered his portrayal of social conditions, particularly those related to forced labor in Mozambique, to be politically inflammatory. In 1988, he was appointed Minister of Culture after serving as director of the President's Office. He is also the secretary of the Permanent Commission of the People's Assembly.

IMPOSTO DE CAPITAÇÃO. Head tax. (See: Mutsonkho.)

IMPOSTO DE PALHOTA. Hut tax. (See: Mutsonkho.)

INDUSTRY. By design and necessity, the Portuguese government made no effort to create industries in its colonies. The reasons were obvious. First, it did not want the colonies to compete with the slowly rising industrial middle class in the metropolis. Second, lack of capital and adequate technological skills in the metropolis made it almost impossible for the Portuguese to industrialize their empire. Thus, until the 1960s, they were more interested in extracting colonial raw materials for processing and consumption in Europe. This is why railroads and harbors took precedence in the meager industrial development effort. Only during the 1960s did the Portuguese attempt to develop some industry in Mozambique, forced by revolutionary movements in their colonial empire, particularly in Angola in 1961. However, industrial activities remained concentrated in the processing of food stuffs and agricultural raw materials. As a result, in the 1960s, 20 percent of Mozambique's industrial output was centered in the processing of cashew nuts, sugar, grain, and vegetable oils. The second most important light industry was the textile industry (cotton, sisal) at places such as Chimoio, Maputo, and Nampula, and breweries, electricity, fishery, housing, and mineral extraction, mainly coal in the Moatize and Tete areas. In 1966, a bicycle and an automobile assembly plant were created. During the 1970s, Portuguese capital and foreign investment, mainly South African, German, and American, built a steel rolling mill, a refinery, a fertilizer plant at Matola, and plants for processing plastic products and chemical materials. Even in the 1980s, industry did not become a major economic activity in Mozambique: it accounted only for 10-15 percent of the GNP, and 40 percent of it was concentrated in Maputo and vicinity. Mozambique's other industries include the manufacture of paper, ceramics, tires, glass, and railroad carriages.

As mentioned above, the mining industry was, and still is, mainly limited to coal production, estimated at 269,974 metric tons in 1957. In 1960-65, coal production reached an average of 275,953 metric tons a year, but declined to 237,499 tons in 1965. Ten years later (1975), its production rose to 574,800 metric tons, but declined in 1978, the year when the coal industry was nationalized, to 350,000. It subsequently rose to 380,000 tons in 1982 and to 390,000 in 1984 but had plummeted to 40,000 metric tons by 1986. It is known that an estimated 360 million tons of iron ore exists in Nampula and Mozambique Provinces, while bauxite, diamonds, manganese, asbestos, uranium, and natural gas can be found in several parts of the country. Also, titaniferous iron has been discovered in Muende and Tete, but geologists maintain that it is extremely difficult to separate the abundant titanium oxide from the iron.

Since 1948, Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States has been given prospecting rights on oil inland and offshore, and in 1958, Pan American Oil Company also received similar rights. However, as recently as 1988, the search had not been rewarding, except for natural gas. Mozambique imports all its oil. There is one refinery that can handle up to 800,000 tons of crude oil; its production reached 683,000 tons in 1981, up from 518,716 in 1974. Foreign debt, inflation, and South African reversal on the gold arrangement with Mozambique in 1978 have forced the country to reduce drastically its oil imports from 641,000 tons in 1982, to 105,000 tons in 1983, a move that has further aggravated the country's economic problems.

Despite the political crisis, however, and the Portuguese unwillingness, as well as their inability, to adequately industrialize the former colony, Mozambique was ranked among the most industrialized African countries and colonies in 1973. Overall, however, experts believe that during the post-independence period (1978-1988), Mozambique's industrial production has fallen by as much as 50 percent.

INHAMBANE. Mozambique southeastern province, 26,492 square miles large with a population of 1.167 million. It is bordered by Sofala and Manica Provinces in the north through the Save River, in the east and south by the Indian Ocean, and by Gaza Province in the west. Its capital is the city of the same name, located on the Indian Ocean. Cattle raising has saved this province, while the population grows some rice, cashew nuts, copra, beans, corn, and mafura trees. Inhambane is a major industrial city whose activity centers on the processing of agricultural products, particularly cashew nuts. Vasco da Gama stopped at Inhambane on his way to India in 1498 and called it "the land of the good people" ("terra de boa gente").

ISLAM. It is estimated that there are some two million Muslims in Mozambique scattered throughout the north of the country, the northeastern coast and the hinterland, especially among the Yao; the center and the southern parts of the country have practically no Muslims. Islam was introduced during the seventh century by Arab traders along the east coast and took strong roots in the north. Angoche, Sancul, and Quitangonha in the northeast became important bastions of Islamic resistance to Portuguese penetration. During the nineteenth century, military officers as renowned as Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque and João de Azevedo Coutinho found it extremely difficult to conquer and pacify the sultanates.

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JUNTAS DISTRITAIS. Created in 1965, the district juntas were advisory bodies to the district governors during the colonial period.

JUNTAS LOCAIS. Advisory bodies in circumscrições (remote areas) with at least 20 electors, established during the 1960s.

-K-

KAVANDAME, Lazaro. Organizer of Makonde peasants in the province of Cabo Delgado in the early 1960s, prominent member of FRELIMO's first Central Committee, and Provincial Secretary. Kavandame ran into trouble within the Central Committee when he espoused a hard line against the appointment of whites to FRELIMO administrative positions. On this he was joined by Father Mateus Pinho Ngwengere, and both were viewed as reactionaries. He also criticized Janet Mondlane's leadership at the Mozambique Institute in Dar-es-Salaam because she was white. Furthermore, along with Vice-President Urias Simango, he disagreed with the Marxist-Leninist philosophy of the Front. Subsequently implicated (without proof) in the death of Eduardo Mondlane and accused of corruption and of favoring a "tribalistic" independence for Cabo Delgado, Kavandame was censored by the Central Committee. In 1969, he defected to the enemy side and joined the Portuguese propaganda machine against FRELIMO.

KAZEMBE. Military leader of one of the twelve districts into which the Maganja confederation was divided. The Maganja rebelled against the Portuguese from the 1870s through the 1890s and were only subdued in 1909.

-L-

LEMOS, Virgílio (also known as Duarte Galvão) (November 29, 1929-). Born in Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques), Lemos worked for O Brado Africano, Notícias, Tribuna, and Itinerário and was arrested in 1960 as a sympathizer of the emerging nationalists. He was eventually forced to leave Mozambique and seek asylum in France. His best known work, published both in Portuguese and French, is Angola et Mozambique / Esclavage et révolution (1966).

LIGA AFRICANA (African League--LA). Association of a few dozen intellectuals, mainly assimilated and mulattos, from the Portuguese colonies, established in Lisbon in 1920. It functioned until 1926. Its objective was not the achievement of independence, but the elimination of colonial abuses associated with forced labor, taxes, and discrimination. The association also sought to foster solidarity among the subjects of the Portuguese empire as well as with the rest of the African world. Thus, in 1923, it hosted the second session of the Third Pan-African Congress organized in London by W. E. B. DuBois. However, Portuguese censorship, the insignificant impact of its membership, and the physical and social

environment far removed from the motherland prevented the league from exerting any enduring influence in colonial matters.

LIGA DE DEFESA E PROPAGANDA DE MOÇAMBIQUE. A right-wing organization which surfaced at Lourenço Marques during the 1930s, whose aim was to promote more autonomy for Mozambique at the expense of the Africans and the Portuguese not born in the colony, using South Africa as a model. In 1933, for example, the Governor-General, supported by the Attorney-General, the director of the newspaper *Notícias*, and the military commander, passed a decree stipulating that only those Portuguese born in the colony could hold government jobs. Aware of the potential for separatism (*bairrismo*), as the opponents called the purpose of the Liga, Lisbon opposed the decree. The Liga did not survive the totalitarian and centralizing thrust of Salazar's Estado Novo (New State).

LIMPOPO RIVER. The Limpopo, 1,000 miles long, rises from the highlands of the Transvaal, serves as a frontier between South Africa and Botswana and between South Africa and Zimbabwe, runs through southern Mozambique, and empties its waters into the Indian Ocean. During the rainy season, the river has flooded and caused severe damage.

LUSAKA AGREEMENT. A September 8, 1974, agreement between Portugal and FRELIMO establishing a transitional government to facilitate the colony's road to independence. Its nineteen clauses can be summarized as follows: 1) Mozambique's right to independence under FRELIMO; 2) independence date set for June 25, 1975; 3) appointment by Portugal of a High Commissioner who would in turn set up a transitional government and, in consultation with FRELIMO, create a joint military commission; 4) Mozambique's territorial integrity and accelerated decolonization process to be ensured by the High Commissioner, who represented the President of the Portuguese Republic; 5) a transitional government with executive and legislative functions; 6) a Prime Minister, appointed by FRELIMO, for the transitional government; 7) six ministers appointed by FRELIMO and three named by the High Commissioner; 8) a cease-fire enforced by individuals appointed by FRELIMO and the High Commissioner; 9) agreement on a cease-fire; 10) law and order guaranteed by the Prime Minister and the High Commissioner; 11) authorization of a new police force created by the transitional government; 12) coordination of military activities by FRELIMO and Portugal in case of threat against the colony; 13) cooperation and friendship between Portugal and Mozambique; 14) agreement by FRELIMO to honor financial obligations signed by the previous governments as long as they were in the interest of the colony; 15) a pledge by FRELIMO to follow a policy of non-discrimination based on race; 16) creation of a Central Bank in Mozambique and the transfer of all assets from the Banco Ultramarino; 17) request for aid from external sources allowed to the transitional government; 18) following independence

Mozambique to act freely as a sovereign state; and 19) a pledge by both countries to maintain a fraternal and harmonious relationship.

LUSOTROPICALISMO. Theory advanced by Gilberto Freyre, a Brazilian sociologist, which claims that the Portuguese, better than any other European people, were apt to live in the tropics and mingle socially with the Africans to the point of favoring miscegenation and bestowing upon them all rights and privileges of a Portuguese citizen through the colonial policy of assimilation. Arguing that the Portuguese held a benign attitude towards their slaves in Brazil and the colonies, Freyre has attempted to prove that the Portuguese were less racially conscious and more humane than their Anglo-Saxon counterparts. Portuguese colonial apologists have used the theory to advance the claim that the Portuguese were not racist at all. Although some Africanists, including those who are critical of Portugal such as Charles Boxer, admit that the Portuguese were more liberal in their relations with their African and Indian (Damão, Goa e Diu) subjects, most do not view them as color blind, particularly in regard to their African colonies.

A LUTA CONTINUA. Translated from Portuguese as the "struggle continues," "A Luta Continua" was FRELIMO's slogan during the liberation war against the Portuguese. More recently, it has been adopted by the Mozambique National Resistance Movement to convey the message that the war against oppression is not over yet with FRELIMO's victory--that it will end only after FRELIMO is removed from power. RENAMO also sponsors a magazine called A Luta Continua, the official organ of the movement, edited and printed in Portugal.

-M-

MACHEL, Samora Moises (1933-1986). Born in Xilembene, Gaza Province, on September 29, 1933, Samora Machel was the son of a pastor and descendent of peasants and military leaders of the Gaza empire. He attended a Catholic mission school where he completed his elementary education, and took courses leading to a career in nursing in Xai-Xai and Lourenço Marques (Maputo). In 1963, he left Mozambique for Dar-es-Salaam and joined FRELIMO. FRELIMO immediately sent him to Algeria to be trained in guerrilla warfare along with other young Mozambicans who had joined the revolutionary movement. Upon his return, the young Samora joined the army and became the commander of the revolutionary forces in Nyasa Province in 1965. In the aftermath of the assassination of Filipe Magaia in 1966, Machel was appointed Secretary of Defense, thus becoming a member of the Central Committee. He successfully organized the Popular Forces for the Liberation of Mozambique (FPLM). Machel also became a member of the Triumvirate

(along with Marcelino dos Santos and Urias Simango), which shared top executive leadership after the assassination of Eduardo Mondlane, president of FRELIMO, in 1969. In May 1970, following a bitter power struggle within the Central Committee, Machel emerged as the president of FRELIMO while at the same time retaining the supreme leadership of the revolutionary forces.

After a protracted ten-year war against the colonial Portuguese in Mozambique--a war that ended abruptly in 1974--FRELIMO's Central Committee selected Machel to be president of Mozambique on June 25, 1975. At FRELIMO's Fourth Congress in 1983, Machel was reelected president of Mozambique, while retaining his earlier position of commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Mozambique.

Upon assuming the presidency of the new nation, Machel was confronted with almost insurmountable political, social, and economic problems resulting from five hundred years of Portuguese colonialism. A committed Marxist-Leninist, Machel opted for socialism as the remedy for the nation's ills. Immediately, however, discontented Mozambicans, allied with former Portuguese nationals supported by Ian Smith's regime in what used to be Southern Rhodesia, began mounting an armed campaign against his regime, causing much havoc throughout the country. At the same time, in his attempt to follow a revolutionary path in Southern Africa, Machel faced the economic and military wrath of South Africa, as he allowed the African National Congress (ANC) to establish guerrilla bases in Mozambique. The Soviet Union, the principal backer of the socialist state, proved to be an unreliable ally particularly in the delivery of economic assistance. Also, the massive socialist nationalization policies, hastily adopted with little or no understanding by those who were put in charge of their implementation, the flight of Portuguese technicians and businessmen, and the crippling activities of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (MNR) or the Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO) aggravated the political and economic situation. As a result, Machel, in an attempt to solve the economic crisis, ordered a slowdown of the nationalization process, welcomed foreign public and private investment in the country, and began courting the West for economic and military assistance.

Pressured by RENAMO, as well as by economic and military retaliation from South Africa due to the presence of the ANC, Machel saw himself signing an unpopular and humiliating military pact, the Nkomati Accord, with South Africa on March 16, 1984. The heart of the pact dictated that, while Mozambique would stop her support for the ANC, South Africa would cease arming and providing logistical assistance to the RENAMO insurgents. However, notwithstanding the fact that Machel kept his part of the bargain, South Africa did not. A real crisis followed as the guerrilla activities intensified and, by 1986, threatened Maputo itself. Paradoxically, Machel's new pragmatic approach towards the West was beginning to pay some dividends as Portugal, Britain, France, and West Germany pledged to provide military and accelerated economic assistance to the endangered socialist state. While attempting to

slow down the tide of an impending catastrophe on all fronts (except his own popularity, which never wavered in the country), Machel died in an airplane crash on October 19, 1986, as he was returning from a strategic mini-summit on Southern Africa in Zambia. His Tupolev TV-134 jet, manned by a Soviet crew, crashed against the Libombo Mountains, three miles from Namaacha, inside South African territory. The international investigation that followed absolved South Africa from involvement in the crash and laid the blame on the Soviet crew. Mozambique rejected this verdict and accused South Africa of having caused the crash through radar manipulation. Within a fortnight, the Central Committee had elected Joaquim Chissano, the foreign minister, as president of Mozambique.

Machel, skillfully able to maintain his popularity within Mozambique and abroad, was a strong supporter of sanctions against South Africa. However, he tempered his rhetoric with pragmatism, aware of the stranglehold that South Africa had on the Mozambique economy, including trade, tourism, technical assistance, harbors and railways, and Cabora Bassa. He was a co-founder of the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 and played a prominent role among the Frontline Heads of State. In 1976, in spite of the foreseen economic price, Machel ordered the frontier between Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia closed in compliance with U.N. sanctions against the white minority regime and backed ZANU and ZAPU unconditionally.

MACHILA. A device made out of two long pieces of wood or bent bamboo linked and interwoven with ropes and a net, built and used by Africans to carry a European in the colony. Four porters (two on each side) would rest the ends of the poles on their shoulders and carry a white Portuguese, who meanwhile would be reading, writing, giving orders, eating, or even whipping the carriers and telling them to stop bouncing the machila sideways.

MACOMBE (Makombe). Title of the rulers of Barue, in Central Mozambique. The Macombe kingdom was an offshoot of the Monomotapa or Muenemutapa kingdom in present Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia). The split was engineered during the late fifteenth century by Macombe I, son of Matope of Muenemutapa. The Macombe held various headquarters such as in Macossa (the main seat) and in Mungari.

The dynasty always experienced problems of succession, and quite often the contenders to the throne fought against each other. However, when one of them was crowned, all rivals recognized him as the new king and pledged their obedience to him. The Macombes never admitted that they were subjects either of the Portuguese government, the prazeros, such as Manuel António de Sousa Gouveia, or the Mozambique Company, which inherited the area from the Portuguese government in the 1890s. Curiously, beginning during the seventeenth century, a Portuguese representative was present at every coronation ceremony. He brought with

him the blessed water of the Catholic Church and anointed the new king with it. However, the ceremony never symbolized Barue acceptance of Portuguese sovereignty over them.

During the 1840s, the Macombes repulsed the Nguni who had been extracting tribute from them. Several factors accounted for their power: they controlled the trading activities of the area, received in-kind tribute from subjugated ethnic groups, and manufactured their own guns and gunpowder, contrary to Portuguese directives and decrees. In defiance, the Macombes also refused to pay taxes to anyone including the Mozambique Company. Consequently, when company agents attempted to collect taxes in 1890, the Barue people revolted and defeated the intruders, despite the fact that the latter were assisted by prazero Gouveia and his lieutenants as well as by Captain Lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho (who gathered a force of some 720 men, of whom 240 were white), an infantry division, several marines, and artillery men assisted by some 20,000 company troops. The same episode was repeated in 1902, when Portuguese troops converged on Barue from three directions and subdued the revolt. Chipitura, their famous leader, was captured.

In March 1917, the Macombes Nongwe-Nongwe and Makossa, two rival relatives, united against the Portuguese and forged an unprecedented alliance with the Tonga, the Tawara, the Nyungwe, the Sena, the Gorongoza, and the Atsenga. The Portuguese led a major offensive in early 1918, using troops from different ethnic groups but particularly from among the feared Angoni warriors, who eventually numbered between 10,000 and 15,000 men. Sensing imminent defeat in October 1918, both Nongwe-Nongwe and Makossa escaped to Southern Rhodesia.

Barue tradition holds that thirty-five Macombes ruled the region. Unfortunately, the history of the kings is obscured by the dynastic rivalries and becomes quite unreliable prior to the mid-nineteenth century. A partial list of the Macombes includes the following kings who ruled between 1811 and 1918: Chimbata, Capanga, Sazua, Bingo, Inhamaguada, Chibutu, Chipapata, Nongwe-Nongwe, and Makossa.

MACONDE (Makonde). Mozambique ethnic group settled in the northern Maconde plateau (about 175,000 in 1970). The Maconde were the backbone of FRELIMO's army during the liberation war against the Portuguese. They are farmers as well as hunters, fishermen, and warriors. Maconde clans include the Muera of the Muera or Rondo plateau, and the Mavia, who live south of the Rovuma River on the Mavia plateau.

MACUA-LOMWE. Numbering more than a million, the matrilineal Macua-Lomwe inhabit lower Zambezia, the Niassa and Cabo Delgado Provinces, and parts of the northeast coast. In the distant past, they were organized into separate political entities under a chief who exercised almost unlimited powers.

MAKONDE. (See: Maconde.)

MANGA. African term associated with the Zulu military structure in Gungunhana's army in southern Mozambique, meaning a battalion(s). Troops were assigned to the mangas according to age.

MANICA. Since 1975, west central province of Mozambique. It was dismembered from the western part of the former district of Manica e Sofala. Manica's gold and ivory attracted the first Portuguese adventurers, and a decree of June 14, 1884 made it a district. The province has a surface area of 23,807 square miles and a population of 756,900 (1987 estimate), bordering Tete Province in the north, Sofala Province in the east and north, Inhambane and Gaza Provinces in the south, and Zimbabwe in the West. Manica is dominated on the Zimbabwean border by the Mashonaland (Manica) plateau, which harbors Mount Binga (7,992 ft.), the highest peak in Mozambique. The Pungue, the Save, and the Buzi Rivers provide water, hydroelectric power, and irrigation. The Beira railway that crosses the province from west to east and a relatively extensive road system have enabled Manica to become one of the most developed provinces in the country. Its soil contains gold, iron, asbestos, copper, and bauxite. The province also produces the major agricultural crops of Mozambique: cotton, cashew nuts, sugar cane, corn, copra, and sisal. Its capital city is Chimoio, formerly known as Vila Pery, which is also an important textile industrial center.

Recently, Manica Province has been a major target of the Mozambique National Resistance, which has disrupted several of its communication networks and industrial projects.

MANJACAZE. Once Gungunhana's headquarters in the Gaza empire. It was burnt and occupied by Mouzinho de Albuquerque on November 11, 1895.

MAPUTO. Formerly Lourenço Marques, Mozambique southern province since 1975; 6,324 square miles large with a population estimated at 544,700 in 1987 (excluding that of Maputo city). Maputo is also the name of the provincial capital, and the capital of Mozambique. Maputo Province borders Swaziland in the west, Gaza Province in the north, and South Africa in the northwest and the south. Most of the country's light industries, such as Mozambique's sole oil refinery, are located in this province, particularly in and around Maputo city. The province, especially the capital, is linked by a network of railroads heavily used by neighboring countries such as Malawi, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Swaziland, and Zambia.

Maputo city is also the second largest port in Africa. Since its early beginnings, Lourenço Marques (Maputo) has always been a relatively busy port. In 1882, for example, 40 ships entered its harbor, 46 in 1883, 82 in 1884, and 55 in 1885, representing diverse nationalities, namely: British (162), French (18), Portuguese (17), Dutch (6), and German (3). The province is known

for crops such as rice, cotton, sugar cane, and corn, and is suited for cattle raising. Maputo (the new name for the city of Lourenço Marques since 1976) is also the largest city in Mozambique, with a surface area of 232 square miles located on the northern bank of Espírito Santo estuary on the Delagoa Bay, with a population estimated at 1,000,800 (in 1987). It is also considered the eleventh province of Mozambique.

One of the earliest Portuguese seamen, Lourenço Marques, disembarked in 1544 at the Delagoa Bay, where a fort was erected in 1787. The settlement became a town in 1887 and the official capital of the colony in 1907, and thrived as the commercial, intellectual, and administrative center of the colony. Maputo city was a commercial center for shipbuilding activities, breweries, fish canning, food processing and cement plants, and textiles, and it produced quality furniture for domestic and foreign consumption. Today, Maputo is the second largest port in Africa. Once the seat of the governors-general, today it is the administrative center of FRELIMO. It has the best schools in the country and houses the country's only university. It also has the best hospital (Hospital Miguel Bombarda). More recently, the guerrillas of the MNR have tried to cut the city off from the rest of the country. In 1988, it was believed that no one was safe beyond a 50-mile radius of the city.

MARAVI. A Mozambique ethnic group that seems to have come from the Congo Confederacy sometimes during the sixteenth century. They mainly live in the north, near Lake Nyassa, and in the east along the Luanga River. The Maravi are subdivided into the Nyanja of Lake Nyassa, the Chire, the Mutarara, the Chewa (in Capoché and Angonia), the Chipeta, the Zimba, the Makanga, and the Tsenga (of Tete district).

MASSANGANO. Headquarters of the prazero Cruz family. A fortified aringa (compound, fortress), Massangano became the capital of the Cruz dynasty during the tenure of Joaquim da Cruz, also known as the Nhaude, sometime during his reign (1805-1855). Several times, particularly during the nineteenth century, the Portuguese attempted unsuccessfully to destroy the Massangano fort. Finally, in 1887, they burned the aringa after António Vicente da Cruz, chased by the Portuguese who had allied themselves with the prazero Pereira family, had decided to abandon it. However, João Santana da Cruz rebuilt the aringa in 1888, and once again he fortified Massangano. Eventually, however, the Portuguese subdued the Cruz family and occupied Massangano in 1894.

MATZANGAISA, André Matadi (1950?-1979). Born in Gorongosa, Matzangaisa was the first president of RENAMO. A former FRELIMO platoon commander in Gorongosa, Matzangaisa had joined the Front in 1972. During the 1974-75 corruption purges, Matzangaisa was accused of embezzling a Mercedes Benz and was sent to a reeducation

camp. He escaped from the camp and sought refuge in Rhodesia where he joined the MNR, later becoming its leader. He subsequently invaded the reeducation camp where he had been detained, freeing many of the detainees who later turned out to be his best guerrillas. Once he had organized his followers, Matzangaissa used Gorongosa as the headquarters from which to launch his assaults on FRELIMO. Wounded following an assault on RENAMO bases in October 1979, Matzangaisa died aboard the helicopter that was carrying him back to Rhodesia for treatment. Both FRELIMO and many of his followers thought they had witnessed the requiem of RENAMO.

MESTIÇO. Synonym with mestizzo and misto: someone of mixed parentage. In Mozambique, those of mixed origin as well as the assimilated were treated better than the rest of the population. In most cases, the mistos received free education, lived in free boarding schools, and were more easily allowed to mingle with the Portuguese. As a result of this colonial policy, the rest of the population resented the mestiços, although many of them joined the liberation movements and have occupied prominent positions in independent Mozambique. Despite the policies of non-discrimination announced by FRELIMO, however, many of their compatriots looked at the mestiços with suspicion regarding their loyalty to the state and the nation. At the time of independence, only about 0.5 percent of the population consisted of mistos.

METICAL. Currency unit in independent Mozambique, which replaced the Portuguese escudo. A metical has 100 centavos (cents). Its value has fluctuated between 97.9 meticaïs to a dollar in 1984 to 202.2 meticaïs to a dollar in 1988 (MT405 on the black market). The term metical was borrowed from seventeenth-century exchange currency in Western and Central Mozambique, particularly Tete.

MOÇAMBIQUE. Port and city in Nampula Province on Mozambique Island, originally known as Saint Sebastian city, former capital of the colony until 1897 (actual transfer to Lourenço Marques occurred only in 1907). Vasco da Gama set foot on the island on March 1, 1498, but the first Portuguese settlement here dates back to 1506 with the erection of Fort Saint Sebastian. Moçambique was the seat of the governor-general, and, as Mozambique's Electoral Circle Number One (also known as the North Circle), it used to send a deputy to Lisbon during the nineteenth century. The city has a poor climate, lacks sufficient potable water, and is infested with mosquitoes. These factors were responsible for its abandonment as the capital of the colony. It has good facilities, but since 1951, when the port of Nacala was opened, Mozambique port has been declining slowly.

MONDLANE, Eduardo Chivambo (1920-1969). Born of peasant parents in the district of Gaza, Mondlane attended primary school at a Swiss Protestant mission and left for Transvaal to complete his

high school. He enrolled at Jan Hofmeyer School, where he received a certificate in social work. Through his contacts, Mondlane was able to be admitted at the Witwatersrand University to pursue studies in social science. According to his biography, Mondlane was deported from South Africa to Mozambique as a result of his political activities among the Mozambique students at the university and in the community. He was interrogated by the secret police--the PIDE--and, judged not dangerous, he was released rather than sent to jail. According to other accounts, he became an unwelcome individual at the South African university because, as a black man, he once represented white students at a conference in Cape Town. This gave the authorities a pretext to expel him from the university and to return him to his country of origin.

Once again, Mondlane's good contacts came to his rescue. An American professor he met at Jan Hofmeyer, Darrell Randall, secured him a scholarship from the Phelps Stokes Fund and the Methodist Crusade Scholarship Fund to continue his studies in the United States. Unfortunately, the Portuguese authorities sent him instead to Lisbon. Mondlane successfully argued, however, that, since the university there did not offer a degree in sociology and anthropology, he should be allowed to study in the United States. Consequently, the Portuguese government allowed him to leave Lisbon for the U.S., where he enrolled at Oberlin College and finished his B.A. degree in Sociology and Anthropology in 1953. His contact with anthropologist Melville Herskovits landed him admission to Northwestern University, where he completed his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Sociology and Anthropology in 1957. Thereafter, Mondlane accepted employment as a researcher for the Trusteeship Section of the United Nations.

In 1961, he resigned his post and visited Mozambique under U.N. protection. In Mozambique, he was enthusiastically received by both the Africans and the Portuguese. While Africans saw him as a symbol of their own success, the Portuguese authorities attempted to take credit for his unparalleled high educational status. Upon his return to the United States, Mondlane taught at Syracuse University. Recognized in the U.S. as a Mozambique nationalist, one of the very few Mozambican students at the time, Mondlane was often on the lecture circuit on behalf of his motherland. He strengthened his contacts with the incipient revolutionary movements in Dar-es-Salaam, Lusaka, Mombasa, Blantyre, and Salisbury, insisting that they should unite before waging a war against the Portuguese.

When the União Nacional Democrática de Moçambique (UDENAMO), the União Nacional Africana de Moçambique (MANU), and the União Nacional de Moçambique Independente (UNAMI) decided to unite in Dar-es-Salaam in 1962, Mondlane became the obvious compromise candidate, as he had had no ties with any of the three movements, while possessing international credentials and a high academic status. Mondlane assumed the presidency of the new movement, Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (Mozambique Liberation Front or FRELIMO), on June 25, 1962--the official date of the

establishment of the new revolutionary movement. On September 25, 1964, Mondlane proclaimed the beginning of the armed struggle to free Mozambique from Portuguese colonialism. As a proof of his leadership abilities, he was reelected president of FRELIMO in 1968. Following a period of internal crises within FRELIMO that culminated with the expulsion of white Portuguese instructors at the Mozambique Institute in Dar-es-Salaam, the closing of the institute, and mysterious deaths within the revolutionary movement itself, Mondlane himself was killed on February 3, 1969. A bomb contained in a mail package exploded in his face, tearing him into pieces. A triumvirate consisting of Marcelino dos Santos, Samora Moises Machel, and Urias Timoteo Simango took over the Front's leadership temporarily until the Central Committee appointed Machel as president of FRELIMO. Mondlane was married to Janet, a white American girl from Chicago. She bore him three children and has remained a faithful member of FRELIMO in independent Mozambique.

Mondlane's contribution to the liberation of Mozambique should not be underestimated. Not only must he be given credit for the initial unification of the various liberation movements, but also he must be credited with the transformation of FRELIMO into a viable force against the Portuguese army and government. Despite the split that subsequently occurred among members of the former liberation movements and the bickering that plagued FRELIMO's Central Committee, Mondlane focused his attention on making sure that the initial stages of the guerrilla war inside Mozambique would be successful. Respected in his native land as well as abroad, Mondlane traveled frequently to the West, particularly the United States, campaigning on behalf of the Mozambican cause and soliciting funds.

He encountered unexpected bold resistance from Mozambican students abroad, especially in the United States, when he circulated a white paper in May 1968, entitled "Breve recapitulação sobre a situação dos estudantes moçambicanos no exterior e a sua inserção na luta de libertação." Mondlane had failed, during his trips to the University of Rochester and Lincoln University in 1966 and 1967, to convince the students to return to Dar-es-Salaam and join FRELIMO upon completion of their B.A. degrees. In a response entitled, "The Mozambican Revolution Betrayed" ("A revolução moçambicana traçoada"), disseminated throughout the United States, the Mozambican Student National Union (UNEMO), U.S. section, bitterly attacked the president of FRELIMO. Students had perceived the white paper as an attempt on the part of Mondlane to shorten their educational careers and prevent any type of competition against him. But, as the only Mozambican who had completed his studies, Mondlane had no rival in Dar-es-Salaam.

The incident was, in actuality, a struggle for power. UNEMO, U.S. section, dominated by Catholic ex-seminarians, argued that FRELIMO had no jurisdiction over the students in the United States because: 1) The Front had not sponsored their studies in the United States (In fact, with the exception of a few, the majority of the students had come to the States through Malawi on their own

and were sponsored by the African-American Institute, and had never been FRELIMO members); and 2) Since UNEMO was not a branch of FRELIMO (they argued), the Front could not therefore dictate the behavior of the organization's members. Mondlane and FRELIMO, on the other hand, held the view that the student association had been founded by FRELIMO (although when UNEMO was established in Paris in 1961, the Front did not exist yet). To the relief of the students, the United States government and the African-American Institute did not share Mondlane's views and allowed the students to continue their studies beyond the B.A. degree and then return home, and only if they so desired.

Mondlane's untimely death in 1969 did not allow him to elaborate his vision of future Mozambique, although his philosophy of development leaned towards socialism. In an interview with Helen Kitchen in November 1967, he said: "Our model is the neighboring state of Tanzania." He admired Julius Nyerere's *ujamaa* in Tanzania and would have liked to see something similar instituted in Mozambique to improve the plight of all Mozambicans, particularly the farmers. Although stressing the importance of education and advocating fair salaries for the working class, Mondlane rarely spoke of a class struggle in Marxist terms or about the elimination of the "petty bourgeoisie," about which FRELIMO leaders would later be obsessed. He was against all types of discrimination based on ethnicity, region, race, sex, or religion. While he was president, FRELIMO enjoyed a relatively balanced Central Committee in terms of ethnic and regional representation. Although supporting the separation of church and state, Mondlane believed in genuine religious freedom (as practiced in the United States where he had studied). As a result, his programs received considerable assistance from the American Protestant churches. He held the view that Portuguese whites should be integrated into the new Mozambican society but without special privileges. Yet, he envisaged limited roles for them in the government of a future Mozambique. In this respect, Samora Machel, the Marxist hardliner who succeeded him, proved to be more "liberal," as he presided over a government that was replete with former Portuguese citizens.

Mondlane did not foresee the imminent collapse of the Portuguese empire in Africa--one of the reasons he delayed his presentation of an elaborate personal vision of future Mozambique. He spoke of democracy and of a truly free electorate which would emulate FRELIMO basic political structures. Answering a question from Helen Kitchen in 1967, Mondlane said: "Independent Mozambique will be a democratic, modern, unitary, single-party state.... We can't tell exactly what form of governmental system it is going to take, but we do know that we do not want either a capitalist or communist, but rather a socialist state." Writing in his book *The Struggle for Mozambique* (1969), Mondlane noted: "... We must all have ideas about how the future nation should be organized; but the issue is too far in the future for us to be able to discuss it formally at this stage." Then he vaguely added:

"The structure of FRELIMO can also be regarded as the precursor of a national political body. It is the essence of this structure, however, that ideas should come from the people; that the personnel of the executive and Central Committee are freely elected and many may therefore change." In a concluding note, he observed: "Thus, in discussing the future any further, I can only voice my own private convictions; I cannot predict what will be decided by a Central Committee which does not yet exist."

Mondlane strongly believed in collective leadership but, given that he was the only highly educated member within the movement, Mondlane was careful not to give the impression that he wished to impose his views on others. His relaxed and bent-to-compromise leadership, however, in a situation that was full of potential traps, jealousies, internal and external spying, disagreements as to whether or not the whole of FRELIMO staff should be militarized, and strong ideological differences concerning a future Mozambique, certainly contributed to his downfall. Yet, regardless of his leadership weaknesses, Mondlane kept the war against the Portuguese on the right course, and, in a true sense, he paved the way for Machel's triumphant entry into Mozambique as president of the new republic on June 25, 1975. To Mozambicans, Mondlane has remained an untainted hero.

MONHE. A pejorative term used to designate Asiatic Indians, particularly merchants, who were disliked by both the Africans and the Portuguese. While the Africans saw them as usurers imbued with a complex of superiority, the Portuguese considered them to be ruthless competitors on the marketplace, a resentment that began against the so-called Baneanes during the seventeenth century.

MOVIMENTO ANTI-COLONIALISTA (MAC). A political association founded in Lisbon in 1957 by assimilated and educated colonial subjects, the MAC was an offshoot of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império. The movement created strong bonds among future revolutionary leaders such as Marcelino dos Santos, Amílcar Cabral, Mário Andrade, and Agostinho Neto, and led to the establishment of the Frente Revolucionária Africana Para a Independência Nacional das Colónias Portuguesas (African Revolutionary Front for the National Independence of the Portuguese Colonies--FRAIN) in Tunis in 1960, designed to coordinate the programs and activities of the revolutionary movements against the Portuguese government. Unfortunately, FRAIN lasted only a year, and was replaced by the Conferência de Organizações Nacionalistas das Colónias Portuguesas (Conference of the Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese Colonies--CONCP), established in Casablanca, Morocco, April 1961. Marcelino dos Santos was the first director of the Conference's permanent secretariat at Rabat. The second meeting of the Conference took place in Dar-es-Salaam in 1965.

MOVIMENTO NACIONAL DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique National Movement--MONAMO). A Portuguese reactionary movement established

and led by Dr. Maximo Dias in Mozambique following the April 25, 1974 coup in Lisbon. MONAMO's program was to form a government of only those Portuguese who were born in Mozambique. Because of its narrow roots, it attracted only a few Portuguese, Indians, and mestiços. The Transitional Government was able to disband this reactionary group.

MOZAMBIQUE CONVENTION. A series of agreements between the Portuguese government and South Africa allowing South African companies to recruit mine workers from Mozambique.

Since the nineteenth century, Mozambican workers had been migrating to South Africa to work on sugar plantations in Natal and in the Kimberly diamond mines. In 1909 (with revisions in 1928 and 1930), Portugal and South Africa signed the so-called Mozambique Convention, which allowed South Africa to recruit up to 100,000 Mozambicans a year to work in the mines of the Transvaal. The Witwatersrand Native Labor Association (WNLA or WENELA) enjoyed monopoly over workers' recruitment until 1966, when three other South African companies, commonly known by the acronyms of ATAS, CAMON, and ALGO, were added to the list of legal recruiters of Mozambican workers, particularly from the southern provinces of Inhambane, Gaza, and Maputo.

Between 1896 and 1898, even before the Convention, Mozambicans constituted about 62.2 percent of the work force in the gold mines. During this century (including the time following independence), the number of Mozambican workers never fell below 27 percent. In June 1974, for example, Mozambican workers numbered 91,000 (about 24 percent of the total workforce). The Convention has been a cornerstone of Mozambique's relations with her southern neighbor, given that it also regulates the use of Mozambique ports and railways by South Africa. FRELIMO has allowed the continuation of the Convention because of the benefits it brings to the country and the employment opportunities it provides to Mozambicans. Before independence, FRELIMO officials had vowed to stop the policy. The financial consequences of such a move were weighed more realistically during the post-independence period, and FRELIMO realized it could not find local employment for so many people.

According to the terms of the Convention, after six months of full salaries paid the miners, 60 percent of the Mozambican miners' wages in South Africa would be remitted to Portugal (to Mozambique following independence) in gold bars at the low price of \$35 an ounce. The remaining 40 percent was paid the workers in escudos at the end of their contracts. Portugal (and Mozambique until 1978), with South African assistance, would sell the gold bars at the free market price. In 1978, however, South Africa stopped selling Mozambique gold bars at the 1928 Convention price. (Instead, South Africa sells the gold at the world market price "on behalf of Mozambique.") Economists estimate that this has cost Mozambique a loss of some R160 million a year in foreign exchange earnings. The Convention assured South Africa

of a steady and cheap supply of labor. By using foreign workers, South Africa was also assured that its own African labor force would never become a significant force that could disturb the nature of apartheid. The number of Mozambique mine workers going to South Africa has decreased over the past few years, from 115,000 in 1971 to 128,000 in 1975, for example, to 45,000 in 1985. The cause of the decline, however, has not been FRELIMO's revolutionary stance but South Africa's internal policy aimed at providing employment to its own population. (South Africa's unemployment ran at more than 20 percent in the late 1980s.)

In 1980, Mozambique, Malawi, Zambia, Lesotho, and Swaziland established a Labor Minister's Commission to study the feasibility of stopping export labor to South Africa. However, the Commission failed to devise an alternative strategy to counter South African hegemony, and frontline governments have continued to facilitate labor recruitment by South Africa. Of the estimated 470,000 workers employed by the South African Chamber of Mines in the mid-1980s, 42 percent were foreigners (with 42 percent of these recruited from Mozambique and Lesotho). Since contracts are renewable, about one-fourth of the Mozambican miners (ages 18-60) spend two thirds of their lives in South Africa, often leaving their families unattended. If they do return, they spend an average of seven months in Mozambique before going back to the mines.

MUEDA. A town in the province of Cabo Delgado made famous by a massacre by the Portuguese government of five hundred demonstrators on June 16, 1960. Apparently, the governor requested the victims to appear at the administration center and present their grievances formally as they had been protesting against forced labor, low salaries, and the lack of freedom. The governor then proceeded to order the arrest of many who appeared. People began to protest against the order. The governor called the army he had already alerted and assembled and had the populace shot to death. Nationalists consider the incident to be the catalyst of the armed resistance against the Portuguese government.

MUTSONKHO. Infamous head tax (imposto de capitação) introduced by the Portuguese in the colonies. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Portuguese had also attempted to introduce the hut tax (imposto de palhota), but abandoned it at the turn of the century because of the problems it presented in counting the number of homes and determining the owners and occupants. Both taxes were resisted by the Africans, however, mainly due to the abuses associated with them. In some cases, as in Barue in 1902 and 1917, the mutsonkho contributed to armed resistance against the Portuguese and the Mozambique Company.

MUZILA (Mzila, Umzila, Nyamende) (1810-1884). King of the Nguni of Gaza, who succeeded to the throne in 1861-62 with assistance

from the Portuguese. His brother Mawewe had allied himself with the Swazi and usurped power at the death of their father, So-shangane, in 1858 and had forced Mzila to seek refuge in the Transvaal. Mzila signed a treaty with the Portuguese authorities in December 1861, allowing them free commerce and transit and granting them privileges such as unobstructed elephant hunting and freedom to erect forts in his territory. The Portuguese, in turn, pledged to assist him against his enemies. Although Muzila did not take the treaty seriously and acted at will toward his subjects and those he decided to conquer, the Portuguese were unable to curb his power. He died suddenly in August 1884, but his death was kept as a secret until October 1884. His body was not buried until December 1884.

MWENEMUTAPA (Monomotapa). Title of the kings of the Karanga state in the interior of Sofala and former Rhodesia. The term was also used to designate the kingdom itself. Dating back to the fifteenth century, the Mwenemutapa kingdom, with its capital at Great Zimbabwe, attracted the attention of the Portuguese mainly because of its gold and silver, and was eventually dismantled by the Portuguese and the British. During the latter part of the fifteenth century, the kingdom was dismembered by the Rozwi people, who were led by rebellious king Changamire. One offshoot of this split was the small kingdom of Barue, which fell under the Macombes in Central Mozambique. In 1629, however, both the Portuguese and the Mwenemutapa forces were defeated by Changamire Dombo. As a result, the kingdom never recovered its unity. The record of the Mwenemutapa dynasty is fragmentary, but the first kings are said to have been Mutota and his son Matope during the fifteenth century. Some of the Mwenemutapas who ruled the kingdom between 1790 and ca.1860 were: Chiwewe, Chissandu, Kandeya, and Kataruza.

-N-

NAMPULA. Province since 1975, formerly known as Mozambique Province, Nampula has an area of 30,218 square miles and is inhabited by 2,837,900 people (1987 estimate). Nampula is also the name of the capital city of the province. Situated along the Indian Ocean coast, and bordering Nyasa Province in the north-east, Cabo Delgado Province in the north, and Zambezia Province in the south, Nampula is served by the Lurio and Ligonha Rivers which irrigate several areas that produce cotton, cashew nuts, sugar cane, sisal, peanuts, and tobacco. Its roads and rail link it with Mozambique's neighboring countries, particularly Malawi, and it has two excellent natural ports: one at Nacala and the other at Moçambique. Nampula is also known for its highlands, including Mt. Namuli (3,280 ft.), and its several mineral resources such as iron, gold, tantalite, and colombite. Nampula gained notoriety in the mid-1960s, when its capital city was governed by its first African mayor (President of the Municipal Chamber).

NIASSA (Nyasa). Mozambique's northwestern province, 120,135 square miles large, with a population of 607,700 (1987 estimate), made up of the predominantly Islamized Yao (Jao, Ajawa), who live between the Rovuma and the Lugenda Rivers. Niassa is the most sparsely populated of the eleven Mozambique provinces. With a rainforest and monsoon climate, Niassa produces cotton, potatoes, tea, beans, and sorghum. Administered by the Companhia do Niassa from 1894 to 1929, it was annexed to Cabo Delgado during the 1930-1941 period and became a separate district. With its provincial capital at Lichinga, formerly known as Vila Cabral, Niassa Province is bordered by Tanzania (through Rovuma River) in the north, Malawi in the west (through Lake Nyasa), Nampula Province in the southeast, Cabo Delgado in the east, and Zambezia Province in the south.

NOGAR, Rui (also known as Rui Moniz Barreto) (1933-). Born in Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques), Nogar was an intellectual associated with literary journals in Mozambique including Noticias de Bloqueiro. His articles have appeared in the New Sum of Poetry from the Negro World (1966). He was arrested by the PIDE on December 22, 1964, and remained in jail until independence.

NORONHA, Rui de (1909-1943). Born in Maputo (formerly Lourenço Marques), Noronha was the son of an Indian father and African mother, and is considered to be the "father of modern Mozambican writers." He wrote several poems, one of which, the Sonetos, was published posthumously in 1943. Noronha was also an artist.

NOTICIAS (1926-). The newspaper Noticias was founded by Eduardo Saldanha, Paulino dos Santos Gil, José Joaquim de Moraes, and Captain Manuel Vaz Simões as a morning paper in 1926. In 1952, the editors added an afternoon edition under the same name.

NUCLEO DOS ESTUDANTES SECUNDARIOS AFRICANOS DE MOÇAMBIQUE (NESAM) (1949-1964). An association founded in Lourenço Marques by Mozambican secondary school students, some of whom, including Eduardo Mondlane, were studying in South Africa. Its main objective was the improvement of educational opportunities for blacks, the preservation of cultural identity, and the end to colonial abuses. The secret police became suspicious of it, however, particularly after some of the students began joining FRELIMO in 1962. Consequently, several members were arrested, and, in 1964, the government banned the association. Its official organ was the magazine Alvor.

-O-

OPERATION FRONTIER. A project initiated but never completed by Brigadier-General Kaulza de Arriaga along the Rovuma River

during the period 1970-1973. If completed, the project would have created new towns to block infiltration of guerrillas from the north and entice Mozambicans to live peacefully. (See: Arriaga, Kaulza de.)

OPERATION GORDIAN KNOT. A military strategy adopted by Portuguese Brigadier-General Kaulza de Arriaga, particularly in northern Mozambique in the period 1970-1973, stressing the use of aerial bombing and sudden air assaults on insurrectionists' positions and FRELIMO hideouts to complement military surface operations. The strategy proved too expensive and cost so many Portuguese lives without achieving the intended results that it was abandoned in August 1973. (See: Arriaga, Kaulza de.)

-P-

PALMATORIA. A punishing device that has become infamous in the history of Portugal in Africa. It was a wooden device shaped like the palm of a hand with a handle and several holes which sucked the flesh when applied against the palm of the hand. The palmatória (mbalamatodiya, in the African vernacular of Central Mozambique) was used to punish school children and adult Africans accused of crimes as well as prisoners. Both European and Africans in positions of responsibility used the palmatória. Following independence, FRELIMO outlawed the device, although recent reports have hinted that the party has reintroduced it to punish Mozambicans suspected of undermining its stand in the country.

PEMBA. Formerly known as Porto Amélia, Pemba is a major port and the capital city of Cabo Delgado Province, located near Mozambique Channel. Settlements here date back to the mid-nineteenth century (1858). The Nyasa Company renewed the settlements in the 1890s and made it the capital of its domain. Its surroundings produce cashew nuts, sisal, and copra, and as a port it has become, since the 1960s, an important commercial center known for its seafood freezing and processing plant.

PEOPLE'S COURTS. FRELIMO local, district, and provincial tribunals created after independence. Provincial courts deal with serious cases, while the district courts take cases that require penalties or imprisonment of at least two years. Local courts have jurisdiction over less important cases.

At each level, the judges are elected by the people and include men and women, most of whom are not professional lawyers or judges. The provincial courts have several sections overseen by a trained appointed judge. Citizen judges are elected and perform their duties for two paid months a year while on leave from full-time employment. On a rotation basis, judges sit in every section of the court before their term expires and acquaint themselves with

the whole judicial system. The district and local courts also have at least one trained appointed judge. All sessions are open to the public, and, as Allen Isaacman notes, most people can follow the proceedings easily, particularly at the local level because it is common sense that prevails rather than complicated judicial harangues and principles.

In 1981, the country had at least three hundred people's courts. In 1988, the number rose to 803 courts (11 provincial, 83 district, and 346 local). Prior to 1977, the Dynamizing Groups performed the function of the lay judges. The people's courts have replaced the Portuguese legal system, but the backlog, particularly on the provincial level, has impaired justice in many cases. In 1988, Mozambique finally established its first Supreme Court. As a result of the guerrilla movement within the country, in 1979 FRELIMO created a Military Revolutionary Tribunal to try cases concerned with the security of the state. The Tribunal renders sentences that cannot be appealed, and those condemned to die are quickly executed.

PEOPLE'S SHOPS. Warehouses established as part of the economic system introduced by FRELIMO in the liberated areas of Mozambique and expanded after independence. The idea was to encourage people to cultivate crops and exchange them for imported as well as local products such as salt, sugar, soap, paper, shoes, tobacco, bicycles, hoes, and blankets, in order to make them self-sufficient farmers. After independence, hundreds of similar stores were established and, supervised by party officials, they became centers for food rationing and distribution throughout the country. More recently, the government has had to sell many of the warehouses to the people because they were becoming unproductive. Party officials believed that the move would promote private initiative in business and offset some of the damage caused by the National Resistance Movement.

PEREIRA DYNASTY. The Pereiras were a family dynasty that controlled part of the lower Zambezi from 1760 to 1902. Gonçalo Caetano Pereira (also known as Dombo Dombo, the Terror), a Goan who arrived in Mozambique in 1760 with the desire to enrich himself, founded the dynasty, north of Tete. Assisted by one of his sons, Manuel Caetano Pereira, he carved a prazo from the Maravi people of Makanga who controlled the ivory and gold trade in the area. His other son, Pedro Caetano Pereira (Choutama), is credited with founding the Makanga prazo kingdom on the lower Zambezi. In 1843, however, Choutama was forced to submit to the Portuguese authorities. He died in 1849 and was succeeded by his son, Cypriano Pedro Pereira (Chissaka). Cypriano refused to recognize Portuguese authority and caused much havoc among the Portuguese prazeros south of the Zambezi. Having distinguished himself as the strongest of the Pereiras, Chissaka practically became the sole lord of the trade in ivory, gunpowder, gold, and slaves in Makanga and its surroundings. He died in

1858 and was succeeded by one of his sons also known as Cypriano Caetano Pereira (Kankuni or Sakasaka), who did not assume power until 1874. To ensure his political survival, Cypriano allied himself with the Portuguese authorities and died in 1886.

One of Kankuni's sons or nephews, Chanetta Caetano Pereira, rejected his predecessor's collaboration with the Portuguese government in 1888, and, in alliance with the Massangano Cruz family, waged war against Tete. His major encounter with the Portuguese occurred in October 1888, when he defeated a Portuguese contingent that had attacked his aringa. Chanetta succeeded in disbanding the soldiers, some of whom returned naked to Tete after Chanetta killed many others. Two Portuguese officers perished during the skirmish. (One obscure officer committed suicide.) Second Lieutenant Joaquim Macieira was killed and his body pinned in a tree fork in front of the aringa. Chanetta died five years later and, after a period of dynastic rivalry, he was succeeded by Chegaga Pereira, his nephew, who ruled for a few months only. The last of the Pereiras was Chinsinga Pereira (one of Chissaka's sons), who, upon assuming power in 1893, allied himself with the Zambezia Company, chartered in the 1890s. In 1898, he and the company conquered the Ngoni kingdom north of Makanga. Eventually, he ended up assuming the position of administrator for the company in 1901. However, accused of embezzlement and his kingdom invaded by the Portuguese for refusing to pay taxes, Chinsinga saw his power rapidly diminished. Led by António Júlio Brito, the company's troops overran Muchena, the Makanga capital, and captured Pereira, who had attempted to escape to Nyasaland. He was executed and his head was taken to Brito.

Thus ended one of the most powerful prazero dynasties in Mozambique. It had allied itself at times with the Africans and at other times with the Portuguese, with the sole purpose of preserving its interests along the Zambezi river. In spite of their Goan origin, the Pereiras easily assimilated into the indigenous culture and married African women. Their survival was contingent upon the delicate balance they struck between their hegemony and the African authorities on one side, and with the Portuguese authorities and other prazeros on the other.

PEREIRA, (Dom) Custódio Alvim. Archbishop of Lourenço Marques (1962-1975). Opposed to independence, Dom Alvim Pereira equated independence with communism, collaborated with the secret police (PIDE) against his own priests, and vowed to wage a religious and patriotic war against FRELIMO. For his own safety, the Holy See had to recall him to Rome immediately following independence.

PINTO, A. A. da Rocha de Serpa (1846-1900). Portuguese army captain who served in Mozambique and was hired by the Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa to explore West-Central Africa in 1877-79. He and Roberto Ivens (a former marine in Angola) and Hermenegildo Capelo (another adventurous marine) were asked to undertake a

transcontinental exploration of Central Africa from Angola to Mozambique. However, the three split even before they left for the planned venture because they could not agree where to start and where to end their mission. Whereas Pinto was more interested in making a transcontinental trip exploring the possibilities of linking Angola and Mozambique (an effort later known as the rose-colored map scheme), the other two wished to explore less distant areas, limiting themselves to Angola and perhaps Central Africa. Pinto left from Moçamedes in 1878 and arrived in Durban in 1879 after visiting King Lewanika in Rozi country, in what later became Northern Rhodesia. In 1889, Serpa Pinto attempted to subdue the reluctant Macololo on the High Shire River through a series of skirmishes. In November 1899, Chief Mlauri was subdued by Serpa Pinto's army under Lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho. The British, however, considered the Makololo their subjects, and refused to honor Pinto's conquest, an incident which precipitated the humiliating British Ultimatum of January 1890. The terms of the ultimatum forced the Portuguese to capitulate and abandon their claims. Serpa Pinto temporarily served as Governor-General of Mozambique in 1899.

POLICIA INTERNACIONAL DA DEFESA DO ESTADO (PIDE). A police and surveillance force the Portuguese government created in its overseas colonies mainly to locate, arrest, interrogate, and imprison individuals suspected of working against the state. Also operating in the international arena, the much-feared PIDE was abolished during the 1960s and replaced with the *Direcção Geral de Segurança*, which in practice had the same functions and used the same methods as the PIDE. Although short-lived (1957-1968), the PIDE was the most hated colonial institution.

POLITBURO. FRELIMO's most important and powerful unit. It is selected by the party's Congress and at present comprises ten members including the president of the Republic.

POWER (Electricity). In Mozambique, most of the electricity provided to commercial establishments and residences comes from hydroelectric dams on the Revue, Limpopo, and Zambezi Rivers. In 1964, there were 668 power-producing stations, which generated about 363,727,000 kWh. Since then, electricity production has risen to 658 million kWh in 1975, to 4.94 billion kWh in 1977, and to 14 billion kWh by 1980. Construction of a dam at Corumana on the Limpopo River was to be completed in 1988 and was expected to have a capacity of generating 14.5 MW of power. Paradoxically, Cabora Bassa, the largest electricity generating dam, provides 98 percent of its electricity not to Mozambique but to South Africa. In 1988, it remained almost paralyzed by RENAMO.

PRAZERO (Prazeiro). Owner of a prazo (estate) for the duration of three consecutive generations. (See: Prazo.)

PRAZO. A Portuguese medieval institution transplanted to Mozambique during the seventeenth century. Based on the law of Sesmarias promulgated by Dom Dinis during the thirteenth century to improve agriculture, reinforced later by the Ordenações Afonsinas and the Ordenações Manuelinas promulgated by Dom Afonso V (1438-1481) and Dom Manuel I (1495-1521), respectively, the prazos were land holdings or estates granted to private individuals by the Portuguese government. The prazero (prazo owner) had to be a female Portuguese citizen who would pass the prazo on to her female offspring married to a white Portuguese. The heiress would in turn pass it on to her female offspring, the whole landholding to last three generations or three consecutive female lives. Thereafter, the estate would revert to the state, with the possibility of renewing the contract.

The prazos in Mozambique were located along the Zambezi valley, in Querimba islands and Sofala. No prazero could own more than one prazo, although some prazeros illegally acquired two or more estates. During the nineteenth century, for example, thirty-two prazeros owned fifty-seven prazos in Tete. Although the law prescribed that the prazos were not to exceed 500 leagues, most prazos exceeded this limit and were as long as 3,600 leagues--"and therefore had a surface larger than the kingdom of Portugal itself," as a government survey put it--located in different parts of the colony. The prazo holder was allowed to employ Africans (colonos); raise a private army, often made up of slaves commonly known as achikunda; trade in all commodities; and maintain law and order in the prazo, always pledging allegiance to the Portuguese government which, in principle, ultimately owned the land. The prazero was also required to live on the prazo and not sell or quit-rent it to anyone else.

The institution was primarily supposed to guarantee Portuguese sovereignty over the areas conquered, stimulate agricultural production, increase and facilitate European settlement, and be a source of revenues for the state through a fixed rental fee paid by the prazero to the government. By law, the prazero would lose the prazo if the land was left idle. But the prazo institution did not produce the desired results. Rampant absenteeism, violent rivalries among the prazeros, scarcity of Portuguese women, lack of capital, and African resistance all contributed to the failure of the system. African resistance to the institution itself was probably the most serious challenge to its success. The precepts of three lives, female inheritance, and individual land ownership were all foreign to African tradition. Some Portuguese as well as foreign historians have unsuccessfully argued that the institution was African, introduced long before the Portuguese arrival by the Arabs to enable the sultans to collect tribute from Africans. They argue that the Portuguese simply replaced the sultans and that therefore a smooth transfer took place, one that was not challenged by the Africans. Given the non-African nature of the essential elements of the institution, however, others argue failure had to be expected.

Several decrees (in 1832 and 1854, for example) attempted either to abolish the institution or to improve it, but to no avail. Many of the *prazeros* neglected agriculture and spent their time in leisure, causing unprecedented miscegenation and the Africanization of the Portuguese settler. In November 1888, the government created a royal commission chaired by historian Oliveria Marques to study the institution and make recommendations. (Antônio Enes, later high commissioner for Mozambique, was one of the commission members.) The Oliveria Martins report, published in 1889, called the *prazo* institution violent, abusive, inefficient, one that was kept in an "anarchic state," but it did not recommend its abolition. Instead, the commission stressed private ownership of the *prazos*, specifying how much of it should be cultivated, guaranteeing unlimited rights to exploration, and providing more authority to the *prazero* for the administration on the *prazo* of justice and the maintenance of law and order. Antônio Enes and Mouzinho de Albuquerque, high commissioners for Mozambique during the 1890s, argued in favor of the institution and attempted to increase the rental fees and laid emphasis on the actual cultivation of the land. The coming of the concessionaire companies, the impact of the British Ultimatum of 1890, and the provisions of the Acto Colonial of 1930 contributed to the demise of the institution.

PRETORIA DECLARATION. A statement following aborted negotiations held in Pretoria by FRELIMO and RENAMO through South African mediation in October 1984. South Africa declared that the two sides had agreed on a cease-fire (which was never implemented), while rumors circulated that South African troops would be stationed in Mozambique to supervise the cease-fire. Mozambique negotiators left the South African capital claiming that the "armed bandits" had recognized FRELIMO, while RENAMO representatives announced that they had been willing to accept, in principle, Machel as President of Mozambique during an interim period prior to national elections. Their ultimate goal all along, they claimed, was the elimination of FRELIMO's Marxist government imposed on the country and the establishment of a new nationally representative government.

PRIVATE SCHOOLS. Private schools run by missionaries and individuals were abolished in 1975 when education was made free for all Mozambicans. (See: Education.)

PRODUCTION COUNCILS. Created in 1979 but eliminated during the 1980s and replaced by labor unions, Production Councils could be compared to executive committees of labor unions. Elected by industry and factory workers, they were designed to speak for the workers, enhance morale and productivity, and instill in the workers a sense of social responsibility. Council members met with party representatives and presented grievances and learned of government's objectives and goals. FRELIMO wished to ensure

that workers would feel that they occupied a special place in the nation and wanted them to realize that socialism does not necessarily mean the abolition of work incentives and rewards.

PROTESTANTISM. Protestant missions in Mozambique date back to the 1820s, but their growth was spurred by the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 which forced colonial governments to open their colonies to religions of all persuasions. The Wesleyan Mission in Lourenço Marques, for example, goes back to 1823. In 1879, the Boston American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions started its work in Gaza, while the Swiss Mission, located between the Nkomati and the Zambezi Rivers, initiated its work as early as 1875, followed by the Episcopal Church in Inhambane and Lourenço Marques in 1890. Although severely restricted by the government because of their competition with the official Catholic Church, the Protestant churches, particularly the Episcopal Church, used the African language in their teaching, translated the Bible and other texts into the vernacular, and ran many health care centers. Also, in contrast with the Catholic Church, the Protestant Churches and missions ordained several African ministers even during the 1920s, some of whom established their own "Ethiopian" churches. Realizing their precarious situation before the civilian and religious authorities, the Methodist and the Episcopal Churches fused and formed the Conselho Cristão de Mocambique, or the Aliança Evangélica (Evangelical Alliance), as a common front against the threat presented by the government and the Catholic Church.

The Portuguese government accused the Protestant establishments of not instilling Portuguese patriotism in the Africans, of not teaching in the Portuguese language, and of contributing to anti-Portuguese sentiment abroad. However, their work spoke for itself, and by law the Portuguese could not overtly hinder their religious work in Mozambique. By 1936, for example, the German Swiss Mission had ordained five priests, trained 134 catechists, converted 3,418 Africans, and operated a hospital and a school system with 3,000 students at 11 stations supervised by eight European missionaries. The Methodist American Mission at Inhambane had two central missions and 75 subsidiary posts, all equipped with health centers and schools. The Methodist American Mission at Inhambane had two central missions and 75 subsidiary posts, all with health centers and schools. The Methodist Episcopal Mission, on the other hand, had one hospital, eight dispensaries, 165 subsidiary stations, eight primary schools, and several trade training centers. The Wesley and Methodist Mission in Lourenço Marques District had 82 stations, also provided with several health care centers and schools. In total, the Protestant missions registered some 200,000 students in their 30 missions in 1964, and the numbers continued to grow prior to independence.

The atmosphere created by the new regime, which formally pronounced itself Marxist-Leninist in 1975, did not lend itself to an increase in Catholic or Protestant missionary activity. However,

because the Protestant missions were known for their lack of enthusiasm in enforcing Portuguese laws and in instilling patriotism, FRELIMO was not as critical and antagonistic toward their work in the new People's Republic. In 1988, there were two dioceses of the Anglican Church, one in Maputo and another in Niassa Province, while the Baptist Church has maintained its headquarters at Maputo. The number of Protestant Africans stood at two million in 1988. (See also: Church, Catholic.)

PROVINCES. After independence, in 1976, FRELIMO created eleven provinces in Mozambique: Niassa, Cabo Delgado, Nampula, Zambezia, Tete, Manica, Sofala, Inhambane, Gaza, Maputo, and Maputo City (the capital is considered a province). Each province is headed by a governor appointed by the President of the Republic. The President's cabinet includes the Ministers of Foreign Affairs; Defence; Interior; Security; Planning; the Presidency; Finance; Education and Culture; Information; Public Works and Housing; Foreign Trade; Agriculture; Justice; Industry and Energy; Ports and Surface Transport; Post, Telecommunications and Civil Aviation; Internal Trade; and the Bank of Mozambique. (More recently, the Bank of Mozambique has been under a Governor.) (See also: Cabo Delgado, Gaza, Inhambane, Manica, Maputo, Nampula, Niassa, Sofala, Tete, Zambezia.)

-Q-

QUELIMANE. Town and provincial capital of Zambezia Province, located at the mouth of the Rio dos Bons Sinais, on the Indian Ocean. Vasco da Gama disembarked in Quelimane on January 25, 1498. Founded as a settlement in 1544, Quelimane became a town in 1763 and a municipality (concelho) in 1763. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Quelimane strived as a town trading in slaves, exporting between 8,000 and 10,000 slaves a year to Brazil and the French islands on the Indian Ocean. More recently, the city has experienced a boom resulting from the agricultural activities of the province, which produces copra, sugar cane, sisal, cotton, tobacco, and coconut plants (four million trees in 1987, occupying some 50,000 acres of land). The population of Quelimane was estimated at 71,786 in 1970.

-R-

RAILROADS. Mozambique has a relatively extensive railroad system which links some of the major production centers internally and also provides adequate transport facilities for goods in transit from its landlocked neighbors, including South Africa. Major routes include the Maputo-Ressano Garcia-Pretoria line, the Maputo-Goba-Swaziland line, the Maputo-Chicualacuala-Zimbabwe line, the Beira-Mutare line (the so-called Beira Corridor), the Trans-

Zambezia-Malawi line, and the Nacala-Malawi and the Moatize-Beira lines.

Railroad construction in Mozambique began during the 1880s, the first completed line having been the Delagoa Bay railway linking Maputo with Pretoria, started by Edward McMurdo in 1887 and completed in 1895. Overall, railroad construction and mileage increased dramatically thereafter, reaching 300 miles in 1910, 600 miles in 1923, and 1,500 in 1933. Railroads carried thousands of passengers and tons of cargo every year, thereby generating much needed revenues for the colony. The Delagoa Bay railway alone, for example, carried 264,610 passengers and 1,203,518 metric tons of cargo in 1925, a load that rose to 318,225 passengers and 1,233,533 tons of cargo in 1928. During the 1940s and 1950s, further rail miles were added so that by 1964, Mozambique could boast of having 2,157 railroad miles, representing almost a four-fold increase over 1910. In 1984, the Mozambique railway system carried 5.4 million passengers and some 536.3 million metric tons of freight.

South Africa and Zimbabwe are particularly dependent on Mozambique's rail system. For example, in 1977, the use of Maputo's rail system and harbor by South Africa generated some \$93 million to the country. During the 1980s, South Africa deliberately decreased its use of Mozambique transport facilities in retaliation against the Maputo regime for its support of the African National Congress. Zimbabwe has attempted, since independence in 1980, to reroute its goods through Mozambique (using the Beira-Mutare line) in order to become less dependent on South Africa. However, the MNR has made the line insecure, and Zimbabwe troops have had to guard it. Assistance from the Netherlands, the United States, and the Scandinavian countries to the tune of \$300 million allowed the reopening of the Beira Corridor in 1986 and in May of 1987, while the EEC pledged some \$599 million to maintain the line open and in good condition during the next eight years.

Malawi, Zambia, and Swaziland also use the Mozambique railroad system, and the South African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) has made railroad improvement in Mozambique one of its priorities. The cost of the infrastructure improvements and the activities of the MNR, however, have made rail transport, the cheapest transport system, increasingly expensive and dangerous.

REGEDORIA. During the colonial period, the lowest administrative unit entrusted to a Portuguese citizen or an assimilated African was the posto administrativo. The posto was divided into regedorias, a number of villages inhabited by at least a thousand people under a traditional African authority called the régulo. The objective of the regedoria was to allow the continuation of traditional law for the indigenas population and for the proper distribution of government schools, health posts, and commercial centers.

REGULO. Hereditary African authority who, during the colonial period, had to be confirmed or sanctioned by the Portuguese to exercise control over a certain number of villages. Assisted by a council of his own choice, the regulo or chief dispensed justice according to traditional law, wore military insignia bestowed upon him by the Portuguese government, received a monthly salary, administered a force of African policemen known as cipaïos, furnished recruits for forced labor and the army, and collected taxes for the administration. Heads of villages were also salaried dignitaries. (See also: Regedoria.)

RELIGION. (See: Church, Catholic; Protestantism; Traditional Religion.)

RENAMO. (See: Resistência Nacional Moçambicana.)

RESENDE, (Dom) Sebastião Soares de (1906-1967). Portuguese Roman Catholic bishop of the Diocese of Beira, Mozambique. Dom Sebastião Soares de Resende was an outspoken critic of the Portuguese government's treatment of Africans, advocated justice and equality, and, in principle, supported the self-determination of the colonies, but within the context of the Lusophone community. In his pastoral letters and writings, the bishop criticized forced labor and the compulsory cultivation of cotton and held the Portuguese morally responsible for the education of Africans and the provision of better housing. His views were also printed in the Diário de Moçambique, a newspaper his Diocese owned and controlled. He was met with the ire of his fellow Portuguese, including most of the higher clergy such as Dom Clemente Teodósio de Gouveia, Cardinal of Lourenço Marques, and Custódio Alvim Pereira, who became Archbishop of Lourenço Marques following the death of the Cardinal in 1961. He died from cancer in Mozambique in 1967 after refusing to be taken to Portugal as he battled against the disease.

RESISTANCE AND PACIFICATION. The occupation and pacification of the colony of Mozambique turned out to be an arduous and bloody task for the Portuguese. Since the early days of colonization, the Mozambican people had constantly defied Portuguese attempts to control them, to take their land, and to make them submissive subjects of the Crown. The prazos, for example, failed in part due to the revolt of the African political authorities as well as the colonos. Revolts against slavery, forced labor, and taxation were also common throughout the colony. The concessionaire companies experienced the same resistance as the colonial state did. Given that only the late wave of resistance (1820s-1920) have been relatively well documented, the following is just a summary, region by region, of the wars the Portuguese and the Africans waged against each other in Mozambique. (Scholars further interested in the subject may consult, among others, the works done by Xavier Botelho and René Pelissier.)

The town and city of Lourenço Marques (now Maputo) suffered constant attacks and assaults by the surrounding populations. The Nguni posed a major threat to the city and its praesidium in 1822, when they succeeded in defeating the garrison and massacred Governor Miguel de Cardinas, whom they considered to be a cruel administrator. Between July 26 and September 12, 1834, the Nguni, allied with chiefs Machacana of Matola, Massacano of Maputo, and Encolene of Moamba, who had refused to pay taxes, waged intermittent assaults on the praesidium and eventually burnt it and turned it over to the chief of Matola. Governor Dionísio Ribeiro escaped and took refuge on the island of Xefina, but was tracked down and killed in Magaia on October 5, 1834. The most serious threat to the city occurred on January 25, 1872, when Chief Amula of Zixaxa and several other chiefs from Maputo carried out a sudden assault on the Portuguese settlers. The Portuguese, however, were able to repulse them. The tax issue continued to be a major source of revolts. Thus, in 1894, Matibejane, chief of Zixaxa, accompanied by 2,000 warriors, defied the authorities and publicly "spanked" Lieutenant-Colonel M. Inácio Nogueira, administrator of the praesidium. Assisted by Chief Maazul of Magaia, Matibejane attacked Lourenço Marques on September 24, 1894. Fortunately for the Portuguese, Maazul abandoned battle on October 14, 1894, thus forcing Matibejane to give up the fight. Both he and Maazul sought refuge against the Portuguese in Gungunhana's territory. However, the revolt spread to Marracuene, and only the intervention of Major José Ribeiro, Caldas Xavier, and Joaquim Mouzinho de Albuquerque was able to pacify Matola, Moamba, Mapunga, Maputo, Zixaxa, Marracuene, and Macassene.

Inhambane was not a peaceful place either, mainly due to the activities of the Nguni who claimed it as their territory. During the 1840s, they terrorized the Portuguese and their African allies in Inhambane district. In 1844, the Nguni even dared to kill the governor of the fort, and, in 1849, they also killed Captain António Manuel Pereira Chaves. The Portuguese, in alliance with friendly chiefs, responded militarily to restore peace in the district, which was pacified only in 1877. That year, the Portuguese defeated a combined force of Inhambane chiefs and repealed the Nguni threat.

In Gaza, the Portuguese faced the most organized southern resistance, led by the Nguni. The Nguni defied Portuguese authority, raided the territory of their allies, and, as a diplomatic move, showed friendship to the British, which heightened Portuguese annoyance. In 1851, for example, the Nguni attacked Manica e Sofala and forced the Shona to pay annual tribute. In spite of the treaties they signed with the Portuguese in 1861 and 1886, the Vatus, as the Portuguese called them, continued to pose a major threat, forcing High Commissioner Antonio Enes and his hand-picked collaborator Mouzinho de Albuquerque to assemble better trained troops and plan a systematic assault on Gungunhana's forces. The crowning of the Portuguese military effort started on November 7, 1895, when Mouzinho defeated the Nguni at the

battle of Coolela, followed by the burning of Manjacase, one of Gungunhana's most important headquarters. On December 28, 1895, Mouzinho captured Gungunhana at Chaimite, and between August 8 and 16, 1895 he led a campaign against Maguiguana, Gungunhana's lieutenant, who was finally killed by one of Mouzinho's African soldiers.

The region of Barue is remembered by its revolts in 1890-91 against the Mozambique Company. The ruler of Barue, with the title of Macombe, demanded his independence and refused to pay taxes. Company troops and government soldiers led by Captain-Lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho attempted unsuccessfully to subdue the "rebels." (In 1891, prazero Manuel António Sousa de Gouveia lost his life in an unrelated incident.) In May 1902, Barue once again revolted against the Portuguese. This time, Coutinho, fueled by his 1891 defeat, devastated Inhangoma, Tambara, Inhacafura, Chiramba, Inhampangapanga, Missongue, Mungari, Macossa, Zinto, Suncura, and Massinguire, and declared victory on October 30, 1902. The Abarue would not give up, however. Their last revolt began on March 27, 1917, sparked by the recruitment of soldiers for World War I and workers for road construction. Led by Macombes Makosa and Nongwe-Nongwe, the Abarue forged an unprecedented alliance with the Tonga, the Tawara, the Nyungwe, the Atsenga, and the people of Gorongoza. The Portuguese response was swift: a force estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000 men, most of whom were fearsome Angoni warriors, descended on Barue in April 1918 and, through the use of terror and the indiscriminate burning of houses and crops, succeeded in finally subduing and pacifying Barue.

The region of Angonia was pacified between 1899-1900 by the Companhia da Zambesia, which used troops led by Lieutenant António Júlio de Brito. Recalcitrant chiefs were killed or deported as prisoners to Tete.

Although the Portuguese had settled in Sena as far back as the seventeenth century, they still experienced several revolts from the surrounding populations. Encouraged by the defeat and death of prazero Manuel António Sousa de Gouveia, the Sena people refused to pay taxes in 1891 and joined Cambwemba, Gouveia's lieutenant who claimed the prazos between the Zambezi and the Pungue Rivers. The revolt was not crushed until August 1897, when Captain-Lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho and Lieutenant Delfim Monteiro began a sweeping assault on Sena and its vicinity--Gwengwe, Goma, Maganja de Alem Chire, Mavira, Chitangue, Zagwe, Maroa, Inhatenge--in July 1897.

The family Cruz at Massangano posed the most frustrating and successful resistance against the Portuguese anywhere in the colony. The revolts and resistance began during the 1840s with the ascension to power by prazero Captain Joaquim José da Cruz. The Portuguese responded with several punitive expeditions, which met with disaster. The 1854-55 expedition was defeated, as were the 1867-68, 1868, and 1869 expeditions. On January 19, 1875, the Portuguese found themselves compelled to sign a treaty

with Bonga (Antônio Vicente da Cruz). As the arrogance of the Bonga continued, the Portuguese prepared another expedition that converged on Massangano from four directions: Sena, Manica, Barue, and Tete. Bonga escaped and the Portuguese burnt his headquarters (aringa). In 1888, João Santana da Cruz (Mutontora) refused to pay taxes to the Portuguese government and, in defiance, rebuilt the aringa. The Portuguese returned in force, took Massangano on November 29, 1888, and captured the Mutontora family, which was taken prisoner to Moçambique, the colonial capital.

The Yao of Nyasa District, under their chiefs titled Mutaka, became intolerable to the Portuguese government during the 1880s and to the Companhia do Niassa during the 1890s. In 1890, for example, they massacred Lieutenant Eduardo Prieto Valadim and members of his reconnaissance expedition. In mid-August 1899, however, the Portuguese defeated the Mutaka, who escaped capture. Pacification was not achieved here until 1912, when the Mutaka suffered a major defeat and fled to Tanganyika.

During the 1870s, the Macololo of Massinguire under the control of the Anjos prazero family, particularly Paulo Mariano dos Anjos (Matequenha II), began presenting problems to the Portuguese. To complicate matters, the area was in dispute between the Portuguese and the British, as the latter had established several military and missionary posts there. Serpa Pinto subdued the Macololo in 1889, but the Portuguese had to relinquish the area as a result of the now famous 1890 British Ultimatum.

In Maganja da Costa, where the Silva prazero family reigned in alliance with the Portuguese authorities, the Africans had offered resistance since the 1850s. The period 1858-59 witnessed several skirmishes at Kazembe, Chunga, and Chiramo which ended with a Portuguese victory. In 1887, the Maganja killed several members of a Portuguese reconnaissance expedition under Lieutenants Macieira and Pereira at the margin of Tujungo River. In 1890, however, the government sent some 600 cipaios under Lieutenant Manuel Antônio, who temporarily subdued the "rebels." As the area continued to resist taxes, Lieutenant João de Azevedo Coutinho commanded a force of 6,000 troops who marched to the area on April 19, 1898, and imposed a semblance of peace. However, it was not until 1909 that the area was pronounced pacified.

The Pereiras of Macaranga had constituted a problem for the Portuguese since the 1840s. In fact, in October 1888, Chaneta, leader of the Macanga, defeated a Portuguese expedition and killed one of the commanding lieutenants by the name of Macieira. When the Makanga refused to pay taxes in 1902, the Zambezia Company dispatched Lieutenant Antônio Júlio Brito, a company administrator, with 3,000 Angoni warriors. They subdued the recalcitrant chiefs on May 15, 1902, and Chissinga, the prazero, was killed as he attempted to flee to Nyasaland.

The Maconde of Nyasa District revolted in 1912-13 against the Zambezia Company's imposition of the obligation to collect rubber. They defeated a company contingent assisted by troops from

Lourenço Marques on September 12, 1913. A revolt against the company's forced labor policies began on June 10, 1916, and lasted until 1917, when company troops finally restored peace.

Since the 1870s, the Namarrais had scorned the Portuguese authorities and raided their neighbors for slaves and the control of trade in Cabo Delgado. A Portuguese expedition sent to prevent the raids ended in disaster in 1887. Joaquim Mouzinho led his own expedition in October 1896 but, wounded at Mjoenga, he was forced to retreat. He returned in February 1897, however, accompanied by his protégés Lieutenants Ayres de Ornella and João Coutinho de Azevedo. Although Mouzinho was recalled back to Matibane, the campaign was successful in subduing Mossuril, Muchelia, Mucuto, Monguinguale, Muecate, Infusse, Ibraimo, Mutibane, Natule, Lunga, Mocambo, and Calaputi. The months of January and February 1913 witnessed the last regional skirmishes, which had been caused by abuses in tax collection. Captains José Augusto da Cunha and Neutel de Abreu put an end to all disturbances.

The district of Angoche had been controlled by almost absolute cheikhs and sultans since the 1830s. Not only did the Islamic authorities defy Portuguese sovereignty but they also profited immensely from their slave trafficking activities. In the 1860s, Sheikh Mussa Quanto, for example, successfully assailed Maganja against prazero João Bonifácio Alves da Silva, a Portuguese ally who had threatened his domain. Eventually, Quanto was captured and taken to Fort São Sebastião but escaped to Zanzibar. He returned in 1862 and reassumed power in 1863. Assisted by other slave traders, including some Portuguese, Quanto overran and annexed Sancul and Sangage cheikhdoms. Following years of unsuccessful attempts, the Portuguese left the cheikh alone. In Quitangonha cheikhdom, on the Matibane Peninsula, the Muslim population had also been in rebellion since 1857. Captain Miguel Vaz Guedes Bacilar's expedition of 1874 finally restored peace there. Angoche itself likewise posed serious difficulties to the Portuguese administration. João de Azevedo Coutinho had failed to ensure peace in 1885, and only in 1897 was a temporary truce achieved. In 1910, Captain Mossano de Amorim defeated Fareley, the most important sultan, and his allies, but sporadic incidents of insurrection continued. Finally, in 1918, after securing assistance from Macua chiefs, the Portuguese were able to claim total victory over their "disloyal" subjects.

RESISTENCIA NACIONAL MOÇAMBICANA (RENAMO). Mozambican National Resistance (MNR), or Movimento Nacional de Resistência Moçambicana (MNRM). The precise origins of RENAMO are yet to be ascertained accurately. Unfortunately, most analysts have based their writings solely on interviews held with the late Ken Flowers, former Rhodesian intelligence officer, who claimed to have founded RENAMO. While some attribute its years of formation (1975-77) to the Portuguese intelligence commandos, known as fléchas, who aimed to track down and neutralize FRELIMO activities

and sympathizers, others stress its original links to the Rhodesian Special Branch of the army and intelligence, a type of a scouts organization made up of both Rhodesian and Mozambican recruits. The armed scouts were sent to Mozambique to serve as intelligence guides to and interpreters about the whereabouts and activities of the Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) in the People's Republic of Mozambique. However, so far, no study has been able to pinpoint the moment these "insurgents" became RENAMO and turned their attention to the overthrow of the FRELIMO government. Two points are clear nevertheless: 1) The white Rhodesian regime, particularly after Mozambique closed its borders to comply with United Nations sanctions in March 1976 until the Lancaster House Agreement that led Zimbabwe to independence in 1980, provided logistical, military, and financial assistance to the group; and 2) The new guerrilla group was not only intent on neutralizing ZANU's objectives but also planned to destabilize the FRELIMO government, which was totally supportive of Robert Mugabe's nationalist movement. Following Lancaster House, South Africa assumed Rhodesia's role not only to obtain information on African National Congress activities in Southern Mozambique but also to retaliate against the Marxist Mozambique government's support of the ANC (and SWAPO) and its active participation in the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). Established in 1980 by the frontline states, SADCC was diametrically opposed to South Africa's "constellation of states" policy announced in November 1979.

The extremely diverse composition of RENAMO in its formative years sheds some light on its nature and goals. RENAMO emerged as an organization of individuals purged from FRELIMO, particularly after February 1977, when the Front was transformed into a Marxist-Leninist vanguard party. Some veteran guerrilla fighters who had been disbanded to allow the creation of a conventional army joined the new opposition. Portuguese citizens such as Orlando Cristina (an ex-PIDE agent) and millionaire Jorge Jardim (former under-secretary of state to Salazar and proprietor in the colony) saw their property and role taken away as a result of the new socialist policies. Former African and Portuguese military and political collaborators within the defeated colonial regime and some intellectuals who disagreed with the Marxist-Leninist approach, such as Domingos Arouca and Miguel Murupa, decided not to support but to fight the newly installed Maputo government. As FRELIMO attempted to impose its new policies, which were quite often haphazardly and hurriedly implemented, discontent became a natural phenomenon in the urban areas as well as in the countryside, where collective farms and cooperatives became the new lifestyle and mode of production. While some had legitimate grievances, others simply refused to accept change. Both of these elements became the core components of what turned out to be RENAMO by the end of 1977. Whatever the motives, however, this amalgam of guerrillas with heterogeneous political backgrounds was led by one unifying goal: the overthrow of the FRELIMO

Marxist government at all cost, including assistance from the pariah states of Rhodesia and South Africa--an accommodation which turned out to be the most embarrassing stigma as the MNR sought national and international recognition as a legitimate guerrilla movement.

RENAMO received radio facilities at Gwelo, Rhodesia, in 1976, and began broadcasting in Portuguese as the Voice of Free Africa (*Voz da Africa Livre*); South Africa allowed continuation of the broadcast at Phalaborwa in Transvaal after April 1980. Rhodesia also provided the rebels with a military base at Bindura near the Mozambique-Rhodesian border; in 1980 South Africa made Zabostad available to the insurgents. By this time, RENAMO had established two major bases inside Mozambique on the foothills of Gorongosa, one of them located on the very 5,500 ft. plateau later known as Casa Banana. The base controlled an 800-meter airstrip. Realizing the scarcity of its resources, the MNR, which by 1979 counted only a few thousand guerrillas and open supporters, chose to operate in small groups of 200 and 300 men in an effort to split and confuse FRELIMO's conventional forces. Their goal was to paralyze the country through destruction of the communication and transportation infrastructure and elimination or mutilation of FRELIMO leaders, members, and sympathizers, beginning in the rural areas and slowly moving into the urban centers.

One of RENAMO's first major successful attacks was on the fuel depot at Munhara, at the outskirts of Beira, on March 23, 1979, causing fire and extensive damage. However, on October 13 through October 22, 1979, the Mozambican Liberation Popular Forces (FPLM) stormed the two Gorongosa bases, capturing much ammunition, killing some 100 guerrillas, and taking 22 prisoners. During the assault, RENAMO's first president, André Matadi Matzangaisa, was wounded and died while trying to escape in a helicopter. The assault was so successful that FRELIMO declared RENAMO, "the internal reactionaries" and "armed bandits," defunct. MNR leaders, including Afonso Dhlakama, the next president, feared that the remaining 500 men might not be able to withstand the FRELIMO challenge. Reflecting later on the battle that followed the assault, Dhlakama said: "When André died, the MNR was on the road to total destruction." Against the odds, however, and in spite of internal leadership strife that followed Matzangaisa's death, RENAMO rebuilt its headquarters in the Gorongosa mountains, and Afonso Dhlakama emerged as its new supreme commander and president. Once again, however, FRELIMO struck back at Gorongosa in June 1980 and captured Sitatonga base. To celebrate the victory, Machel himself landed on Casa Banana and said: "We have broken the back of the snake."

But RENAMO had not been fatally wounded. It re-emerged even more determined, 17,000 men strong. It rebuilt the bases, and by 1983 it was operating in seven of the eleven provinces of Mozambique, including Inhambane in the south, and threatened Maputo City itself. The Beira-Mutare railway and its 228-km

pipeline (the so-called Beira Corridor) were paralyzed, the Cabora Bassa dam was neutralized through sabotage of its pylons, and electricity from Pretoria to Maputo was interrupted. At least 26 cooperantes (foreigners) assisting FRELIMO had been abducted; twelve of them, including two Soviet geologists, were executed in 1982. Trains were ambushed (one derailment killed 14 people and wounded 50 others on August 9, 1982), and in December 1982 the Beira fuel depot was once again blown up, causing an estimated damage of \$35 million.

The re-emergence of RENAMO surprised FRELIMO, which seemed unable to stop the tide of destruction. To worsen the situation, several FRELIMO faithful, some of whom were in high positions--such as Jorge Costa, a top security officer, the ambassador to Lisbon, the first secretary at the Mozambique Embassy in Harare, and the finance director in the presidency in Maputo--defected in 1982. Some joined the MNR. To meet the crisis, FRELIMO recalled to duty some of the former guerrillas, created militias throughout the country, and distributed guns to the population. In Sofala, for example, by the end of 1982, about 40 percent of the people were armed, while in the capital 30,000 men and women were organized into militias. (On July 22, 1980, in a special ceremony, Machel himself had distributed weapons to the populace in the capital to underscore the government's determination to wipe out the resistance.) The FPLM initiated a more aggressive campaign against MNR hideouts and resumed its policy, adopted in 1979 when the death penalty was instated, of executing MNR sympathizers and captured guerrillas. In November 1982, Mozambique enlisted the active involvement and deployment of 3,000 to 6,000 Zimbabwean troops particularly along the so-called Beira Corridor, stationed at Chimoio.

The MNR, however, continued to frustrate all these efforts. At the end of 1982, the government estimated that since the inception of their activities the so-called "armed bandits" had caused damage and military expenditures in the amount of \$3.8 billion and had "destroyed 840 schools, 12 health clinics, 24 maternity clinics, 174 health posts, 2 centers for the handicapped, 900 shops, and kidnapped 52 foreign technicians." RENAMO's successes were so disconcerting that in March 1983 FRELIMO's Council of Ministers declared the effort to "wipe out the bandit gangs" as Mozambique's "absolute priority." Adopting a "total strategy" against the enemy, Machel and Defense Minister Alberto Chipande initiated a diplomatic offensive to solicit financial and military assistance from the West and traveled to Britain, France, West Germany, and Portugal, held public executions of "traitors" as a deterrent, and liberalized the government's economic policies.

The relentless RENAMO attacks, particularly in Zambezia, Tete, and Nampula (where SADCC projects on the Malawi-Nacala railway and roads were being severely jeopardized and constantly halted), coupled with South Africa's retaliation for Mozambique's support of the ANC, forced Machel to sign the Nkomati Accord with Prime Minister Peter Botha on March 16, 1984. While South Africa

promised to stop assistance to the MNR, Mozambique pledged to force the ANC to evacuate its military bases from Mozambican territory. South Africa did not, however, abide by its pledge, and RENAMO seemed to grow even stronger following the signing of the accord. By 1985, the MNR activities had spread throughout Mozambique's eleven provinces. As a result of a June 12, 1985, summit of Machel, Mugabe, and Nyerere in Harare, Zimbabwean troops and Tanzanian advisors (about 1,000) began to play an offensive rather than a defensive role in the Mozambican struggle against the insurgents. Thus, on August 28, 1985, Zimbabwean "crack" troops, assisted by Mozambique assault helicopters, parachuted over Casa Banana, which they captured along with incriminating documentary evidence linking the South African Defense Forces, through Colonel Van Niekerk, with RENAMO. Dhlakama was not captured, however, and RENAMO's activities continued unabated (several more cooperantes were kidnapped), although the government subsequently claimed to have destroyed several enemy bases and killed 1,000 "rebels" during the second half of that year. The deteriorating situation in Mozambique led to the Pretoria talks between FRELIMO and RENAMO mediated by South Africa in early October 1985. The Pretoria Declaration announced an aborted cease-fire, with each side blaming the other for the failure of the parallel talks.

To the consternation of the Zimbabwean troops, Casa Banana, left to the FPLM in August 1985, fell to RENAMO forces on February 14, 1986, after RENAMO had also occupied Caia on December 18, 1985, and Marromeu (where they destroyed the sugar refinery) in January 1986. At the end of 1985, the railway from Maputo to South Africa functioned only at 33 percent of its capacity and the Swaziland line at 38 percent, while several railway bridges near the border with South Africa had been blown up by the guerrillas. RENAMO spoke of a "final offensive" against Maputo, which was under constant attack. Thus, in February 1986, FRELIMO resumed execution of RENAMO suspects. Although assistance from the West was trickling down, in March 1986 Machel signed a five-year arms pact with the Soviet Union, following his visit to Moscow. On April 12, 1986, government morale was restored temporarily when Zimbabwean troops recaptured Casa Banana. A few weeks earlier, however, in their attempt to recapture Marromeu, the Zimbabwean forces had lost Colonel Flint Magana, who died in a helicopter crash for which RENAMO claimed credit. In addition, RENAMO was said to have started urban terrorism that year, when mines were found along Maputo beaches and bombs exploded in the capital city and Beira. To further counter RENAMO's threat, Machel, Kaunda, and Mugabe held a mini-summit in Zambia in mid-October 1986, out of which came a plan or plot, now confirmed, to overthrow the Malawi government for its alleged assistance to the MNR. Machel's death in an airplane crash as he returned from the mini-summit further complicated the Mozambican situation. Machel had accused Malawi's President Hastings Banda of letting his country be a conduit to South African military and reconnaissance

planes (which dropped reinforcements for RENAMO, particularly during the period immediately following the Nkomati Accord) and a sanctuary for rebel forces. Consequently, in December 1987, Mozambique and Malawi signed a joint security pact, the latter pledging to seal its borders to RENAMO military activities. By April 1987, some 300 Malawian troops were stationed along the Nacala-Malawi railway near the Mozambique border.

Although in 1987 the Mozambique government claimed to have slowed down MNR's activities considerably, RENAMO's destructive impact refuted the claim. For example, in October 1987, RENAMO ambushed several convoy vehicles traveling from Maputo on the main highway, killing 270 people. Furthermore, its guerrillas even dared to cross the border into Zimbabwe and Zambia, causing several casualties there. RENAMO also claimed that on December 14, 1987, some 117 FRELIMO soldiers at Caia had defected to its ranks. In spite of the seeming victories of destruction and death, however, RENAMO's reputation, already suffering from accusations of terrorist tactics, was severely damaged in mid-July 1987, when the FRELIMO government announced to the world that MNR guerrillas had massacred 424 innocent people at Homoine in Inhambane Province. RENAMO denied the charges and blamed FRELIMO soldiers, and requested that an independent international team be allowed to investigate the incident. The FRELIMO government refused to allow such an investigation. More recently, to counter RENAMO's tactics, FRELIMO officials have stopped public executions of suspects, and on December 17, 1987, it announced a six-month amnesty, which, according to the government, had convinced some 200 guerrillas to turn themselves in by January 1988. (Most likely because of the worsening situation, the presence of the Eastern bloc and Cuba increased in Mozambique by the end of 1987 to 1,000 Soviets, 2,000 Cubans, and 500 East Germans.)

Meanwhile, the internecine carnage, worsened by the drought, has continued in the country, and RENAMO, whose bases are still well-established on the foothills of Gorongosa, claims to have a force of 22,000 with 30,000 more being trained. RENAMO has made most rural areas and towns, including the fifty-mile radius around the capital city itself, unsafe. In November 1988, it also claimed to have cut off electricity to Maputo for three days, destroyed military installations in Gurue and bridges in Gaza, burnt a railway locomotive between Mapai and Mabalane, and occupied several towns in Manica Province including Vila de Junta, Vila de Rotunda, and Vila do Dondo. Simultaneously, the MNR has attempted to improve its reputation abroad by upgrading its representation in Portugal, West Germany, the United States, Canada, and some African states, and by facilitating direct communication with Gorongosa. Journalists have also visited Casa Banana.

Within RENAMO, however, there are two major opposing views, a development that could pose a threat to the movement. One view insists on disassociating the organization from South Africa and developing stronger ties with the West, particularly the United

States. The other wishes to maintain the status quo while pursuing an aggressive international campaign to counter FRELIMO's successes abroad. Observers attribute to this internal conflict the assassination of Evo Fernandes, the movement's secretary-general, near Lisbon on April 20, 1988, the deaths of two important leaders--Mateus Lopes and João de Sousa--reportedly killed in a single-car accident in Malawi on their return from a meeting with Dhlakama in Gorongosa, and the defection of Paulo Oliveira to FRELIMO in early 1988. RENAMO spokesmen deny current South African involvement: they claim that the existence of the Nkomati Accord, coupled with MNR's sabotage of Cabora Bassa, disruption of rail transport to South Africa, and interruption of electricity from Pretoria to Maputo prove that the MNR has acted independently from the apartheid regime and that, in fact, it is fighting both the Mozambican and South African governments. Earlier assistance from Rhodesia and South Africa, however, is not denied by RENAMO officials. Allen Isaacman quotes Dhlakama as having said: "We were oppressed by the Rhodesians, and the leaders of our movement were not allowed to make any of the decisions.... We worked for the English, neither I nor the deceased André [Matadi] could plan any military operations. It was the English who determined the areas to attack and where to recruit." Luís B. Serapião, former RENAMO representative in the United States, acknowledges that "The Rhodesian authorities ... helped RENAMO dissidents with logistics, organization, and training.... Later on, when Rhodesia gained its independence ..., the government of South Africa took over the support of RENAMO." RENAMO representatives claim that the current sources of assistance to the movement are the people of Mozambique and several African countries as well as some Arab states (which they never identify publicly). They further tell the world community that their weapons are mainly those they capture from FRELIMO. FRELIMO, on the other hand, has increased its official contact with the South African regime, as illustrated by the September 12, 1988, summit in Songo, Tete, between Presidents Chissano and Botha. Likewise, it has accelerated contact with the West, as demonstrated by Chissano's visit to the United States in 1987 and Mozambique's acceptance of assistance and terms from the International Monetary Fund in 1987 and 1988. However, FRELIMO has refused to directly negotiate with RENAMO, which it still considers a "gang of armed bandits and terrorists," insisting that only South Africa can speak for them.

In 1989, there were signs that FRELIMO would not win the war against RENAMO, which stepped up its activities every time the Mozambique government backed off from its expressed willingness to negotiate a peaceful settlement of the conflict. One of the clearest signs of RENAMO's strength and audacity was the launching of a successful attack and infiltration of an "extra tight" security zone secured by Mozambique forces and intelligence around Maputo on the night of July 24, 1989, the first day of the meeting of FRELIMO's Fifth Congress. Following the meeting of

the Congress on July 31, 1989, at which Chissano read a "Statement of Principles" as a basis for negotiations with the "enemy," RENAMO increased its activities in the central and southern provinces--Zambezia, Manica, Sofala, Gaza, and Maputo itself--and occupied the strategic town of Luabo on the Zambezi River on August 19, 1989. The apparent successive and successful military campaigns waged by RENAMO must be seen as one of the reasons why FRELIMO decided to resume exploratory negotiations in early December 1989 and its announcement of multiparty national elections scheduled for 1991. However, because of the bickering and accusations of bad faith by the two sides, the war continued in 1990, a year that many observers had hoped to be the turning-point. (See also: FRELIMO.)

REVISTA AFRICANA (1881-1887). The Revista Africana was the first literary periodical in Mozambique, owned and operated by poet and prose writer José Pedro Campos Oliveira, at Mozambique, the colonial capital at the time. Oliveira was a Portuguese lawyer, born on the Mozambique Island in 1847.

ROADS. The construction of roads in Mozambique was spurred by the introduction of the automobile at the turn of the century and the activities of the Mozambique Company during the first decades of the twentieth century. Thus, the colony had 13,516 miles of (unpaved) roads in 1930. Although the Mozambique Company alone had built almost 3,000 miles of road throughout its territory, during the 1960s road construction stagnated at 15,000 miles, of which only 258 miles were paved. Thereafter, the government accelerated its road construction program stimulated by increased economic activity in the colony, reaching 23,503 miles in 1974. By 1982, some 330 new miles of roads had been built and paved, further linking Mozambique internally and with the surrounding countries. The number of vehicles rose from 3,247 in 1930, to 25,672 in 1956, and to 85,800 in 1983. (A tar road links Malawi and Maputo via Tete and Beira.)

However, inflation and the constant sabotage of the communication and transportation infrastructure by the MNR have forced Mozambique to almost halt its road construction program during the 1980s. Many river crossings are still done by wooden bridges or ferry-boats. (The only vehicle bridge on the Zambezi River was completed as recently as 1972 in Tete.)

ROSE-COLORED MAP (mapa cor de rosa). A map drawn by supporters of the colonial empire and approved by the Portuguese government in 1877, linking Angola and Mozambique, shifting the limits of the Portuguese colonies, and attempting to carve a new empire in Central Africa which would comprise what is now Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Malawi. The map was prepared in red and printed in France in the Portuguese language. The British had always opposed such a scheme, however, claiming that the whole Macololo area was under their protection. When Serpa Pinto

annexed the Macololo by force in 1889, the British dispatched an ultimatum to Lisbon on January 11, 1890, demanding the unconditional withdrawal of the Portuguese troops from the area. The Portuguese government capitulated, and the rose-colored map was shelved forever. (See also: British Ultimatum.)

ROYAL (CONCESSIONAIRE) COMPANIES. The so-called royal companies were monopolistic companies, often predominantly foreign-owned and controlled, which the Portuguese government allowed in Mozambique during the latter part of the nineteenth century in hopes of guaranteeing Portuguese sovereignty over the conquered lands, stimulating agricultural and industrial productivity, and facilitating European settlement. For a determined period of time, the companies actually enjoyed almost all rights of sovereignty. They had exclusive rights over economic exploration and production, could set up postal and customs services, establish banks, schools, new towns, populate their concession with Africans and Europeans, recruit labor, collect taxes, institute a police force and army, and administer justice. Three major companies were allowed in Mozambique during the 1890s: the Mozambique Company (*Companhia de Moçambique*), the Nyasa Company (*Companhia do Niassa*), and the Zambezia Company (*Companhia da Zambesia*).

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SALAZAR, Dr. António de Oliveira (1889-1970). Former Catholic seminarian, economics professor at the University of Coimbra. Salazar received a law degree from the University of Coimbra in 1914, and was elected to the Cortes in 1921 but decided to return to the classroom as a professor. He served as finance minister (1926-32) and as premier of Portugal (1932-1968) and became one of the principal architects of the 1933 Portuguese constitution and the now famous Colonial Act (1930), which defined the purpose of the colonies as sources of raw materials for the benefit of the mother country with no autonomous status within the empire and divided their population into indigenous and assimilated. Salazar believed that it was almost impossible to assimilate an African, about whom he reportedly said it would take a century to make a citizen. To show his determination to maintain the colonies, Salazar appointed himself minister of war in 1961, when the liberation movements began challenging colonial policies.

Feared in Portugal, Salazar governed as a dictator, and, when he suffered a stroke in 1968, no one dared to tell him that he had been replaced as prime minister by his long-time friend and collaborator Marcello Caetano. In fact, he died in 1970 still believing that he was the premier or president of the Ministerial Council. Salazar hoped that the misery of the Portuguese would be alleviated by the wealth derived from the colonies such as Mozambique. He has also been accused of encouraging the Portuguese to drink heavily to forget the poverty that was aggravated by his

administration. He is reported to have once said: "Give me a glass of wine and I will feed fifty Portuguese." It is paradoxical that, despite the fact that he was deeply involved in many colonial policies, Salazar never traveled overseas.

SALIM, Janfar. Salim succeeded Twakaly Hija as Cheikh of Quitan-gonha (1804-1817). He allied himself in 1810 with the Portuguese against Morimuno, a Macua leader who was accused of dealing in slaves and of threatening Mossuril. Salim, however, was playing a double game, and the Portuguese authorities finally arrested him in 1817 and deported him to Inhambane, where he died in jail.

SANTOS, Marcelino dos (also known as Kalungano, Micaia, Lilinho) (1929-). Marcelino dos Santos, a mulatto of mixed Cape Verdian descent, is a former labor-union leader, a statesman, and a poet. He studied in Maputo, Lisbon, and in Paris, at the Institut des Sciences Politiques and L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, and was one of the first FRELIMO Central Committee members. From 1964 to 1988 he has served as secretary for external affairs, secretary for political affairs, second party secretary, FRELIMO vice-president, planning minister (1975-1980), and provincial governor of Sofala (since 1983-1985), with the rank of Major-General. In his early years he also lived in Algeria and Moscow and is a Marxist hardliner, the party ideologue, and confidant of both the late President Machel and of Joaquim Chissano. In 1986, however, dos Santos was ousted from direct governmental responsibilities. In fact, 1988, he was not a member of the Central Committee although he served in Politburo. Analysts interpret the ouster as a move to deemphasize the role of the hardline ideologues, particularly in economic affairs. He is married to a white South African woman.

SHONA (Chona). A Mozambique ethnic group estimated to number 765,000 people in 1970. The Shona claim allegiance to and origin from the kingdom of Mwenemutapa, and some anthropologists have classified them as Karanga. Their unity was disrupted by Nguni invaders during the nineteenth century. Predominantly hunters and fishermen, the Shona are concentrated in Manica and Sofala provinces and north of Save River. The Abarue, the Ndaue, the Tembo, the Nyatanza, the Banda, the Marunga, the Mwanya, the Nyampisi, the Chirumba, the Makate, the Mucatu, the Chirware, the Chilendje, the Manhica, the Mavonde, the Choa, and the Atewe (who occupy Chimoio, parts of Manica, Mavonde, Mavita, Dondo, and Vila Machado) are classified as Shona clans or sub-groups. The Shona are one of the few ethnic groups that allow women to be chiefs.

SHOPE (Chope). The Shope of southern Mozambique are located in the areas of the Muchopes, Inharrime, Zavala, and part of Homoine, estimated to be 200,000 in 1970. They claim that their founders

were Nkumbe and the Vilanculu Mrori. The Chope are the masters of the xylophone (mbila) and are subdivided into the Valenge and the Bitonga clans.

SILVA, Antônio Alves da. Antônio Alves da Silva, of Afro-Portuguese descent, started the Silva prazero family, which ruled in Maganja da Costa beginning during the early nineteenth century. His son, João Bonifácio Alves da Silva, succeeded him and extended his father's estate in the region until the family's "hegemony" was neutralized by Cheikh Mussa Quanto of Angoche in 1855. The Silva family remained allied to the Portuguese authorities and their holdings acted as a buffer zone between the Swahili and the Lomwe.

SIMANGO, KAMBA (1890-1966). Born at Mashanga, on the Save River, Simango attended school at the American Board Mission Station at Mt. Silinda in Southern Rhodesia and, through his connections, was able to attend Hampton Institute in the United States, where he received a diploma in teaching in 1919. He pursued further studies at Teachers College at Columbia University while working at odd jobs to finance his studies. Both at Hampton and Columbia, Simango assisted scholars interested in African anthropology and literature, and taught Ndaue. Scholars he met and worked with on the Ndaue language of Mozambique include Franz Boas, Melville Herskovits, and even Henry Junod. At Hampton, Simango sang and participated in the activities of the choir and was elected president of his senior class and the Y.M.C.A. In 1922, he married Kathleen Easmond of Sierra Leone and, following her death, he married Coussey of Ghana in 1925. Two years earlier, he had been ordained minister by the Congregational Churches of Connecticut.

He returned to Beira in 1926 after spending some time in Lisbon and Angola, where he had an opportunity to know the Portuguese people better and improve his Portuguese language skills. He pastored briefly at the American Board station at Gogoi, near Chupangara, before being transferred to Mt. Silinda Mission in Southern Rhodesia. While at Silinda, Simango was falsely accused but exonerated of having raped a colleague, a white missionary woman. Instead of reinstating him, the church turned against him and forced him to return to Mozambique and station at Machemeje, on the Buzi River, near Beira, where he resumed his missionary activity. The Portuguese, however, refused to recognize his mission. Disgusted and afflicted by health problems of his wife and himself, Simango left Mozambique for Accra, Ghana, where he and his wife settled. He died in Accra in 1966.

Simango's full story is yet untold. However, there is no doubt that he was one of the early modern Mozambique nationalists, who, during his early years, tried to liberate his people through education and religion and attempted to forge a bridge of understanding between black Americans and Africans. Toward this goal, he created the Grémio Negrófilo of Manica e Sofala, a

culturally redeeming association which was recognized by the Portuguese government in 1935, participated in the Pan-African Congress of 1923 in Lisbon, called for action against injustices in the church and government, and assailed forced labor practices in the Portuguese colonies. In his later years, he was convinced that only independence from Portugal would end injustice. Doctor Leon P. Spencer, Associate Professor at Talladega College, who has done a preliminary study of Simango, notes, "Perhaps the most telling commentary on the nature of Simango's role in African and Afro-American affairs, at once peripheral and central, is the fact that he spent the last years of his life broadcasting about the liberation struggle in the Portuguese territories for the Voice of Ghana in Accra." (Mário Andrade, before his death, was in the process of compiling a history of nationalists in the Portuguese colonies, and Kamba Simango would have occupied a prominent place in the work.)

SIMANGO, Urias Timóteo. Former Protestant pastor in Beira, near Chupangara, organizer of mutual aid association, and, along with Adelino Gwambe, one of the founders and first president of UDENAMO. Simango was also one of the founders of FRELIMO, of which he became the vice-president in 1962. Re-elected vice-president at the Second Congress of FRELIMO in 1968, Simango expected to accede to the presidency of the movement after the assassination of Eduardo C. Mondlane on February 3, 1969. However, at a meeting of the Central Committee in April 1969, Marcelino dos Santos and Samora Machel blocked Simango's ascendancy and made him part of a triumvirate the two had conjured. Subsequently, Simango resigned his position and published a document critical of FRELIMO, titled "Gloomy Situation in FRELIMO." He criticized the predominance of white supervisors in the Mozambique Institute, accused Janet Mondlane of being a CIA agent, ridiculed FRELIMO's "scientific socialism," and charged that the movement was controlled by Mozambican southerners. His life threatened, Simango escaped to Egypt and later joined COREMO. He returned to Mozambique after independence but was arrested after he participated in an attempted coup to overthrow the Transitional Government. Till now his whereabouts are unknown.

SLAVERY (Slave Trade). Although during the sixteenth century Mozambique was not a significant source of slaves to the New World, Africans in Mozambique had always been used as slaves by the northern sultans and cheikhs. Furthermore, from the seventeenth century on, a considerable number of slaves worked in the lands of the prazeros, employed as achikunda (soldiers) by the new lords, and performed emissary and trading functions for them. Studies have indicated that some prazeros owned as many as 25,000 slaves. The mocambazes (slave merchants) used the same methods as those employed by the trans-Atlantic slave traffickers, namely, kidnapping, buying, clandestine agreements with chiefs in the hinterland, and actual warfare. Interestingly,

as Pedro Gamito noted; the structure of the prazo slave community was hierarchical. The achikunda in the prazos were normally divided into groups of ten (the issacas) under a sa'chicunda, who was assisted by a muscata, all under the mwanamambo, or captain, who took his orders from a bazo (overlord). Women were also enslaved in the prazos and quite often had the same hierarchical structure as the male slaves. The prazero classified his slaves into the ladino (smart) slaves, or those who had been trained and had acquired the experience to perform their tasks well, and the burro (stupid, lit. donkey) slaves, the novices or those who showed no progress in the performance of assigned tasks.

During the eighteenth century, Mozambique began furnishing slaves for the São Tomé islands, Brazil, and the islands of Madagascar, Mauritius, Reunion and Comoros. Between 1794 and 1821, according to some estimates, the number of Mozambique slaves exported from Quelimane and the Mozambique Island alone rose from 3,807 to 15,282. For the whole colony, however, the annual number of slaves rose from 15,000 to 25,000 between 1800 and 1850, notwithstanding the fact that a Portuguese decree of 1836 had officially abolished slavery in the colonies. Governors refused to implement the decree, alleging that the settlers would not stand for it and that it would be detrimental to the economic well-being of the colony. Governor-General D. Carlos de Oyembausa, the Marquis of Aracaty, for example, simply suspended the decree on November 11, 1837.

International criticism, Lisbon's insistence, and British abolitionist efforts, however, contributed to the eventual elimination of the slave trade in the colony. In 1847 the Portuguese entered into a three-year protocol with the British, whereby the latter would be allowed to enter Mozambique ports, bays, rivers, and other areas to capture and punish slave traders, including the sultans and cheikhs, and destroy their sources of supply. As a result, a raid took place on December 21, 1847 against the Sultan of Angoche. Unfortunately, French disregard for the Portuguese decrees proved to be a major obstacle against the elimination of the slave trade in the colony. The French constantly roamed along the coast, capturing Africans or buying them from the sultans while alleging that they were taking only those Africans who volunteered to work in the sugar cane plantations on the islands of the Indian Ocean. Despite Sá da Bandeira's protest to the French Embassy in Lisbon in 1855 and 1856, the French argued shamelessly that they were not enslaving the Africans but civilizing them. Between May 28, 1856, and October 17, 1857, for example, French vessels forcibly took some 1,045 Mozambicans to the islands. The French claimed that they paid these workers between 1\$120 and 1\$600 a day, depending on their ages.

One of the major reasons why local Mozambican authorities were reluctant to enforce the ban on the slave trade or the capture of "workers" to the islands was that they, and the government, shared the loot. Normally, the civil authorities received between 4 and 7 pesos, half of which went to the governor-general, two

thirds to the district governor, and the remainder to the customs officers, the military commanders of the garrisons, and other officials. French persistence in the slave trade resulted in an embarrassing incident in November 1857, when the Portuguese, encouraged by the British, seized the French vessel Charles et Georges at Conducia Bay, loaded with 110 Africans bound for the islands. Its captain, Mathurin Etienne Rouxel, was arrested and fined 500\$00. Napoleon III dispatched an ultimatum demanding the release of the ship and the captain and indemnification by the Portuguese government. The Portuguese, feeling abandoned by the British, capitulated and paid the reparations--an incident that led to a temporary rupture of diplomatic relations between Portugal and France.

Despite continuous efforts that led to arrest of slave dealers during the 1860s, particularly in the Angoche district, the end of the slave trade was still not in sight. The British continued to accuse the governors-general, including Governor Tavares de Almeida, of collusion with the slave traffickers. The accusations were so serious and Lisbon so dissatisfied with the governor that he was forced to resign on October 14, 1862. Only in 1877 was a serious effort made by Governor-General Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes to promulgate and enforce the 1836 decree abolishing slavery and the slave trade in the colony. However, it was not until the 1890s that, for all practical purposes, it could be said that slavery and the slave trade were eliminated.

The Africans, of course, also contributed to the demise of the "peculiar institution" in the land. One of the reasons why the prazos did not succeed was that they experienced continuous slave revolts. When the 1888 Prazo Inquiry Commission completed its reports, for example, it noted that violence in the prazos had been the major cause of their failures. This included the resistance that the Africans maintained throughout the prazos' existence. Moreover, slave mutinies were reported at several ports. A classical mutiny occurred in January 1833 at Ibo port, when two French vessels had docked with the intent to pick up a slave cargo. The would-be victims refused to go on board and rioted. The Portuguese authorities responded violently and killed between 20 and 30 rioters, while others took refuge in the hinterland. The French vessels sailed off empty.

Thus, although it is not possible to determine how many Mozambicans were taken as slaves to Brazil, São Tomé e Príncipe, and the islands of the Indian Ocean, it would seem accurate to say that between 1700 and 1880, an average of 8,000 to 10,000 slaves were exported yearly. Although the Lisbon authorities wanted to see the end of slavery in the colonies in the 1830s, local authorities, who were also making a profit out of this shameful trade, adamantly refused to comply. While some authorities argued that the government did not have the means to enforce the decrees, particularly on the high seas, others claimed that, if slavery were to be abolished, no manpower would be available for the colony since allegedly Africans, unless forced, refused to work for anyone.

SOARES, Dr. Mário (1924-). Highly educated Portuguese intellectual and statesman, with degrees in history, philosophy, and law. A socialist in philosophy and a political activist who opposed Salazar's dictatorship, Soares was arrested twelve times during the 1960s and early 1970s. During 1970-1974, he lived as an exile in Paris, while teaching at the Sorbonne. He returned to Portugal in the aftermath of the April 1974 coup which overthrew Marcello Caetano's government. Soares regrouped the Socialist party he had co-founded in 1973 and participated in the electoral campaigns for office in the new republic. Appointed foreign minister by the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement, Soares negotiated the independence of Guinea-Bissau and signed the Lusaka Agreement with FRELIMO in September 1974, setting up a transitional government which led to independence on June 25, 1975. As leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party in Portugal, Soares eventually was elected and served as premier in 1976, 1978, and 1983-85. He assumed the presidency of the Portuguese Republic in February 1986 and was reelected in 1991.

SOFALA. Mozambique east-central province dismembered from the eastern part of the Manica e Sofala district in 1975. Pero da Covilhã was the first Portuguese known to set foot on Sofala, followed by Gonçalo Vaz de Goes, who claimed to have "discovered" it on an expedition to Mombasa in 1505. Pero d'Ansaia started the erection of the fort of S. Caetano at Sofala, a settlement which was elevated to a vila (town) in 1764. Until the nineteenth century, Sofala was the seat of a governor or military commander. (Sofala town is also known as Nova Sofala or Chiloane.) Sofala and its city of Beira, the provincial capital established by the Mozambique Company in 1891, famous for gold and ivory trade, provided a stimulus to the development of the whole district (now province).

Sofala has a surface area of 30,337 square miles and a population of 1,257,700 (1987 estimate). It borders the Indian Ocean in the east and Tete Province in the north. Through the port city of Beira, Sofala is linked by rail and road to Tete Province and by paved road to Zimbabwe and Maputo city. Several rivers, such as the Buzi, the Gorongozo, the Pungue, the Save, and the Zambezi, flow through it and provide irrigation and hydroelectric power facilities. Its famous game park, Gorongozo (2,300 square miles), is one of the best in Africa. Almost all Mozambique agricultural crops, such as corn, coconut, cashew nuts, cotton, and sugar cane as well as mangoes, are harvested in the Province, while its soil is known to contain several minerals such as gold (famous since the sixteenth century and systematically explored during the nineteenth century). Unfortunately, Sofala Province has also been devastated by the activities of the Mozambique Resistance Movement and by FRELIMO retaliatory measures against suspects' hideouts.

SOUSA, Noémia Carolina Abranches de (also known as Vera Micaia) (September 20, 1927-). Married to a Portuguese while she was

living in Lisbon, Noémia is considered to be the first Mozambican woman writer. Between 1951 and 1964, she worked for several journals and reviews in Mozambique, advancing the theme of African culture. Several of her articles and poems appear in journals in the Portuguese language in Mozambique as well as in Brazil and Angola. Political persecution by the Portuguese secret police compelled her to seek refuge in France, where she has continued her literary work.

SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COORDINATION CONFERENCE (SADCC). Created in 1980 by representatives from Angola, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, the Conference's aim is to coordinate development plans, share costs of regionally-beneficial projects, and decrease dependence on South Africa, particularly for landlocked countries such as Zimbabwe. The originator of the idea was the late President Seretse of Botswana.

Areas of cooperation include agriculture, training, communications and transportation, energy, and port facilities. Transportation and communication have received the highest priority. This has benefited the Republic of Mozambique, which is seen as providing the best alternatives to South African routes. Of the \$800 million pledged by the Conference in 1980, almost \$650 million went to improve Mozambique's infrastructure. Zimbabwe, the richest and most developed member of the Conference, realizes that Mozambique could provide transit for more than 300 million tons of its exports. Zimbabwe serves as the grain storage facilitator for all members. SADCC's success, however, has been very moderate due to several factors, such as South Africa's economic and military retaliatory measures, lack of adequate capital formation, the destruction of the infrastructure in Mozambique by the MNR, and an inadequate number of trained regional technicians, who are provided mainly by the European Economic Community. The Conference executive, headquartered in Botswana, is small, decentralized, and attempts to limit ideological interference. For this reason, member country presidents have little control over it, although they meet once a year to discuss the agenda.

SPINOLA, General António Sebastião Ribeiro de (1910-). Military officer, Nazi sympathizer, commander of Portuguese troops in Angola in 1961, and a two-term military governor-general of Guinea-Bissau (1967-1973). Spinola vowed to end once and for all the activities of the PAIGC. In 1973, he was appointed deputy chief of staff of the Portuguese Armed Forces. Out of his first-hand experiences in Angola and Guinea-Bissau, Spinola concluded that the colonial war was unwinnable and that the African colonies should be given autonomy within the Portuguese empire. He expressed his ideas in a book, *Portugal and the Future*, published in February 1974. As a result, he was denounced by the government and dismissed in March 1974, but his book had already caused much discussion in Portuguese circles. When the Portuguese

Armed Forces Movement overthrew Marcello Caetano's government on April 25, 1974, Spínola was made president of the new republic. The Armed Forces Movement subsequently removed him from office and allowed him to retire peacefully.

SWAHILI. People of the northeastern coast of Mozambique from Momua to Rovuma rivers. Greatly influenced by the Arabs, the Swahili are famous traders and many of them have embraced Islam.

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TEMPO. FRELIMO's official magazine printed in Maputo. As such, it reflects the government's views, although articles are often written by individuals not associated with the editing and the printing of the magazine.

TERRAS FIRMES (Firm Lands, Continental Lands). Until the nineteenth century, this was the designation of the Mozambique district consisting of Mossuril peninsula, Cabeceira Grande and Cabeceira Pequena, about 500 square km with a population of about 15,000 in the mid-nineteenth century.

TETE. The second northwestern province of Mozambique, created in 1975, with an area of 38,890 square miles and a population of 981,300 (1987 estimate). It comprises many of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century prazos and it borders Zambia in the northwest, Malawi in the northeast and east, Zimbabwe in the south, and Sofala Province in the southeast. The province is known to abound in mineral resources such as coal, which has been recognized since the eighteenth century (Livingstone wrote about it during the 1860s). Coal has been extracted by a Belgian company in relatively large quantities at Moatize, although the MNR has almost paralyzed the mines. Bauxite, manganese, titanium, and gold (which attracted the Portuguese as far back as the sixteenth century) are also known to exist in the province. Corn, manioc, wheat, sorghum, and millet are some of its most important agricultural products.

Tete city is the province's capital and port, located on the right bank of the Zambezi River. Tete became a town in 1761 and a city in 1959. It is linked to Beira by rail and paved road, and to Malawi and Zambia by road. Rivers such as the Zambezi, Luia, and Luenha provide water to this extremely dry and rocky city. The area surrounding the city abounds in baobab trees (embondeiros) whose fruit, when ripe and dry, is edible, as well as a tree called maçau (apple tree) whose little round fruit, shaped like olives, can be eaten when ripe and dry. The local population grind the dried fruit and its seed and brew beer out of it. Eighty miles from the city of Tete stands the Cabora Bassa dam, the largest in Africa, meant to provide electricity to South Africa

and to limited areas of Mozambique and to irrigate some of the arid areas of the province. During the nineteenth century, Tete was a very important commercial center, as government reports note, and traded in gold, silver, ivory, agricultural products, and slaves. Cattle raising has been successful in the province and around the dry city.

TONGA (Thonga). A Mozambique patrilineal ethnic group, an offshoot of the Zulu who settled in southern Mozambique during the nineteenth century. The Tonga were estimated at 250,000 in 1970. A farming community, they are ruled by a chief who is assisted by a council. Thonga subgroups include the Ronga of Maputo, Marracuene, Manhica, and Sabie, as well as the Shangana of Bilene, Magude, and parts of Sabie, and Guija. The Tsaw, who inhabit the regions that extend from the Limpopo to the Save Rivers and parts of Mossurize and Sofala, are also a subgroup or clan of the Thonga.

TOURISM. During the 1960s and 1970s, Mozambique used to be a paradise for South African and Rhodesian white vacationers, attracted by its beaches and hotels, particularly in the south and at Beira. In the 1970s, Mozambique could count on 5,195 rooms in different hotels, motels, hostels, and boarding houses for its visitors. In 1972, for example, the number of visitors reached 29,574 annually and continued to grow when Mozambique offered attractive package deals to South Africans. During the mid-1970s, some 650,000 tourists visited Mozambique yearly. In 1979, the industry continued to boom, having attracted some 986,501 tourists who contributed about 108,344,000 escudos. Of these visitors, 63 percent were South Africans, who contributed about R10 million to Mozambique's revenues. In 1981, however, the number fell to only 1,000 visitors. To improve the situation, the Mozambique government and South Africa initiated negotiations in 1984 to restore tourism to Mozambique and agreed to allow Sun International, a South African based company, to explore a joint venture designed to make the Santa Carolina Island, usually known to South Africans as "the paradise island," an attractive resort area. Similar arrangements were to be made for Inhaca Island and Ponta Malongane, both extremely popular with South African whites. Due to the MNR incursions, however, tourism is at a standstill, especially for areas other than Maputo. Travel from Mozambique to South Africa and Zimbabwe is relatively safe only by plane.

TRADITIONAL RELIGION. About 60 percent of the Mozambican population still worship in the ways of their forebears, who were monotheistic. They believe in one supreme being who is omniscient, almighty, omnipresent, but who acts through intermediaries--the spirits and the ancestors. They offer him, as well as the spirits and the ancestors, prayer and sacrifice. The ancestors or the living-dead are the guardians of the community and its morals, the

protectors of the good, and the cursers of the wicked. Most Mozambicans, even when converted to Christianity, still believe in the powers of the medicine-man, the sorcerer, and the witch, and may practice trial by boiled oil, water, and poison. In spite of five hundred years of Portuguese colonialism and the work of the Catholic church, therefore, Christianity has had little impact on the former colony.

TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT. A temporary, shared government, agreed upon by the Portuguese government and FRELIMO representatives in September 1974 to allow Mozambique a smooth transition to independence, which was proclaimed on June 25, 1975. According to the agreement signed in Lusaka, Zambia, each major ministry would be headed by a Portuguese and a Mozambican counterpart. The highest authority during the transitional government was Joaquim Chissano, who acted as prime minister until independence.

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UNIÃO NACIONAL AFRICANA DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique African National Union--MANU). Revolutionary movement established in Mombasa, Kenya, in 1961 by Mozambican refugees and workers living in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. MANU's first president was Mathew Mmole. MANU moved to Tanzania the same year and fused with UDENAMO and UNAMI to form FRELIMO in 1962. Before moving to Tanzania, however, MANU had carried out no activity against the Portuguese. Organizational and logistical problems, exacerbated by distance, also mitigated against any realistic assault on Mozambique. (As the name suggests, MANU was modeled after TANU in Tanzania and KANU in Kenya.)

UNIÃO NACIONAL AFRICANA DA ROMBEZIA (Rombezia African National Union--UNAR). A splinter group of Lusaka-based COREMO, UNAR established its base in Blantyre, Malawi, during the late 1960s. UNAR naively believed that the Portuguese would willingly cede to Malawi the Mozambique region between the Rovuma and Zambezi Rivers in exchange for Banda's pledge not to disturb the rest of Mozambique. UNAR did receive limited protection from the Malawi Congress Party. However, the pseudo-nationalist movement never engaged in any guerrilla activity against the Portuguese but tried to stop FRELIMO's influence in the north.

UNIÃO NACIONAL DE ESTUDANTES DE MOÇAMBIQUE (National Union of Mozambican Students--UNEMO). Founded in Paris in 1961 by Mozambique students, UNEMO's aims were varied, namely: 1) to foster the interests of Mozambican students anywhere; 2) assist them in securing scholarships and enabling them to abandon the miserable life of refugees; 3) advance the cause of Mozambique abroad, especially in academic circles; and 4) contribute, in any

way possible, in accordance with each member's conscience and means, to the elimination of colonial rule in Mozambique. Contrary to Eduardo Mondlane's claim in his book The Struggle for Mozambique, UNEMO was never a branch of FRELIMO, although some students, particularly those in Europe, were also FRELIMO members. In fact, some of them had been sponsored by the movement. However, the strongest and the largest section of UNEMO was based in the United States and had very few FRELIMO members. Practically all members were convinced that FRELIMO was the only legitimate revolutionary movement in Mozambique and therefore never hesitated to advance its cause in the United States. Yet the students did not wish to belong to a political movement, fearful that it might dictate their conduct and undermine their educational opportunities.

UNEMO met once a year and, until the early 1970s, published regularly its magazine, The Mozambique Bulletin. Although the association functioned relatively well until 1973, it had been unable to resolve to everyone's satisfaction the differences between the students who grew up in Mozambique, all of whom were able to speak Portuguese, and those who grew up abroad (in such countries as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Tanzania, and Kenya) and spoke English. During the 1960s and early '70s, all meetings were held in Portuguese, to the resentment of the non-Portuguese speakers. The association was dominated by Catholic ex-seminarians, a factor resented by non-ex-seminarians who became frustrated because their number was too small to influence the students' agenda. Additional differences of opinion existed as to whether UNEMO was a branch of FRELIMO: FRELIMO members tended to hold this view, while the ex-seminarians, who knew each other, and most of whom had come to the United States via Blantyre (and through the assistance of former White Father Andre de Bels), and not Dar-es-Salaam, adamantly refused to accept any semblance of political subordination of UNEMO. These differences, and the fact that independence came unexpectedly soon, contributed to the association's ineffectiveness and its demise in 1975.

A major dispute with FRELIMO arose in 1968, when Eduardo Mondlane published a white paper charging that the students, particularly those in the United States, were unpatriotic, selfish, and capitalistic. Mondlane claimed that all students of Mozambican origin were under FRELIMO's jurisdiction and demanded that they should all return to Dar-es-Salaam after completing the Bachelor's degree to join the revolution. The students responded bitterly through the publication of a document called "The Mozambican Revolution Betrayed," accusing President Mondlane (and not FRELIMO as such) of jealousy, inept leadership, and of a lifestyle contrary to the principles of FRELIMO and the revolution. However, the main contention centered on who actually controlled UNEMO: the students or FRELIMO. In the end, the students triumphed, as the American government and the African-American Institute, which provided the students with scholarships to be trained in the English language either at the University of Rochester

(New York) or Lincoln University (Pennsylvania) before enrolling permanently at other institutions of their choice, allowed them to stay indefinitely in America as political refugees. Some UNEMO members returned home immediately after independence but were not well received. Joaquim Marungo, Boaventura Verimbo, André Saene, and João Uafinda, for example, were either imprisoned or sent to re-education camps. This incident deterred many others from returning home.

In its time, UNEMO provided a forum for discussion of students' needs, a venue for political participation, and fostered solidarity among the students who, because they were not English-speaking, felt isolated from other African students, particularly their fellow Southern Africans. UNEMO also strengthened students' resistance against pressures from political parties and assisted financially and morally those students wishing to pursue their studies abroad or laboring in Africa as refugees. However, UNEMO's internal politics, which at times pitched one former executive against a new slate of leaders (particularly during the last three years of its existence), and its inconsistent and sometimes rigged electoral practices doomed the association to failure. The lack of coordination and communication among the various sections and the covert consideration of ethnic origin to qualify for office exacerbated the organization's inherent weaknesses (the fact that most of the members of the U.S. section were ex-seminarians from the districts of Manica e Sofala, Tete, and Quelimane tended to isolate the rest of the membership and thus weaken the organization's effectiveness). Considering its modest goals, however, UNEMO, on balance, was more of a success than a failure.

UNIÃO NACIONAL DE MOÇAMBIQUE INDEPENDENTE (National Union of Independent Mozambique--UNAMI). Revolutionary movement formed by Tete exiles in Blantyre, Malawi, in 1961. Its first president was José Baltazar Chagonga, whom President Hastings Banda of Malawi deported to Mozambique. After merging with UDENAMO and MANU as FRELIMO in 1962, UNAMI was revived in Malawi and had its headquarters (near Chileka Airport) in the home of the party's secretary-general, António Gadaga. Until 1967, Gadaga, despite his meager financial means, received wholeheartedly several Mozambican refugees, many of whom were Catholic ex-seminarians who later found scholarships abroad. Malawi was not the proper place for any nationalist movement at the time, as the Portuguese could come in and out of the country almost at ease and capture nationalists. Banda also vowed to deport anyone engaged in military activity against the Portuguese government in Mozambique.

UNIÃO NACIONAL DEMOCRATICA DE MOÇAMBIQUE (Mozambique National Democratic Union--UDENAMO). A revolutionary movement organized by Mozambique workers and exiles in Salisbury (then Southern Rhodesia) in 1960. It moved to Dar-es-Salaam after

Tanzania's independence in an attempt to overcome the problem of mounting warfare from a white-dominated British colony. In 1962 UDENAMO merged with FRELIMO. One of UDENAMO's founders was Adelino C. Gwambe. Urias Simango, a pastor from Beira, Mozambique, headed the movement temporarily until he became FRELIMO's vice-president. One UDENAMO splinter group broke away from FRELIMO and called itself the Secret Restoration Committee (Comité Secreto da Restauração--COSERU). COSERU subsequently established a new but ineffective UDENAMO in Cairo.

UNIÃO NACIONAL MOÇAMBICANA (Mozambique National Union--UNAMO). Initiated in 1987 by former sympathizers of RENAMO, UNAMO claims to have its headquarters in Nampula. Its leaders are unknown, although its director is Carlos Alexandre Rei, the same individual who directs CUNIMO in Lisbon. UNAMO's constitution claims to stand for democracy and to uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One of its objects is to end the war between RENAMO and FRELIMO. In 1988, the organization was not recognized anywhere.

-V-

VALENTE, Malangatana Gowenha (June 6, 1936-). Born in Magaia, Marracuene, Malangatana (as he is usually called) is a self-educated poet and painter. His father worked in the South African mines. To pay for his high school education, Valente worked as a muleque (servant) at the Lourenço Marques Club, where he met Portuguese architect Amancio Guedes who "adopted" the young man and trained him as a painter. Malangatana was arrested in December 1964 and released in March 1966. His poems have appeared in Black Orpheus magazine (1966) and in Modern Poetry from Africa (1963).

-W-

WIRIYAMU MASSACRE. A village south of the city of Tete, Wiriyamu received notoriety when, in 1973, the priests of the Burgos revealed a Portuguese army massacre of 400 innocent villagers suspected of cooperating with FRELIMO. According to Allen Isaacman, the much publicized story "... focused attention on Portuguese colonialism, generated widespread protest, embarrassed Portugal's allies, and brought FRELIMO concrete financial and moral support from the World Council of Churches." The Portuguese authorities denied the incident.

WITWATERSRAND NATIVE LABOUR ASSOCIATION (WNELA, WENELA). A South African mining company authorized by the Portuguese government in 1909 to recruit thousands of mine workers in Mozambique. (See also: Mozambique Convention.)

-X-

XAI-XAI. Formerly the city of João Belo, port, town, and capital of Gaza Province, situated at the mouth of the Limpopo River, near the Indian Ocean. It is linked with the interior by a railroad and with Maputo by road. Its surrounding areas, fertilized by the Limpopo, produce corn, rice, manioc, sorghum, and peanuts, and has prospered from the cattle industry.

-Z-

ZAMBEZI RIVER. The Zambezi River originates from Zambia, near the frontiers of Angola and Zaire. The fourth largest river on the continent, and also the fourth longest in the world, the Zambezi is 1,600 miles long, serves as a border between Zambia and Zimbabwe, and flows to the Indian Ocean through Central Mozambique. The river is also famous for its Victoria Falls on the border between Zambia and Zimbabwe and its two hydroelectric dams at Cabora Bassa (capable of generating 18,000 KW of electricity per hour) and Kariba in Zambia and Zimbabwe. Parts of the river become shallow during the dry season. However, the Zambezi is potentially deadly during the rainy season, when it swells and inundates its banks.

ZAMBEZIA. Mozambique central province since 1975, with Quelimane as the provincial capital. It has a surface area of 40,544 square miles and a population of 2,952,000 (1987 estimate). Zambézia is bordered by Malawi in the west, Nampula and Nyasa Provinces in the north, Sofala and Tete Provinces in the south, and the Indian Ocean in the east. It has several plateaus, the highest being the Namuli highlands (3,280 feet), and is served by several important rivers such as the Zambezi and its tributary, the Shire. It is endowed with a very fertile soil, capable of sustaining large crops of coconut trees (four million in 1988 extended through a 50,000-acre area), cotton, tea, sisal, corn, and cashew nuts. Minerals such as tantalum, iron, manganese, and uranium are also known to exist in its soil. Quelimane, its capital city and port, is connected to Mocuba by rail and by road to Malawi and Nampula Province.

ZIMBABWE AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION (ZANU). A nationalist movement led by Robert Mugabe during the 1970s, dominated by the Shona, mostly responsible for the defeat of the white Rhodesian government in 1980. Mozambique was a strong supporter of ZANU, providing military facilities to the movement and accepting large numbers of Zimbabwean refugees prior to 1980. ZANU's ally, the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), under Joshua Nkomo, did not enjoy the same support from the People's Republic of Mozambique. The Rhodesian army retaliated frequently against Mozambique for its support of ZANU.

ZUAVO BATTALION. Aborted African battalion formed by Governor-General Pinto de Magalhães (1851-54) to solve the problem created by the limited number of Portuguese soldiers in Mozambique. The governor even resorted to kidnapping Africans and requested that slave owners furnish a number of their servants and slaves to the authorities to serve in the army. However, most Africans escaped from the military headquarters, some immediately after recruitment and others once they had received the uniforms and a gun. The slave owners, on the other hand, to comply with the order, sent to the government their most incorrigible or sickest slaves. The experiment failed and was soon abandoned.

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In comparison with the former British and French colonies, the Portuguese territories have received much less attention from social scientists and humanists, and even less from scientists. However, the situation improved dramatically immediately following the declaration of war by the liberation movements against the Portuguese government. As a result, the issues shifted from a narrow focus on Portuguese colonial motives, the relations between church and state, the "backwardness" of the Portuguese empire, and the nature of conquest and pacification, to an analysis of the impact of assimilation, taxation and forced labor, ethnic composition and social structure in Mozambique, the nature and impact of capitalism as well as Marxist-Leninist policies, and the effect of regional conflicts which have enriched as well as complicated the experiences of the people living in the former Portuguese colony.

The following bibliographical entries include sources in English and in Portuguese not only because of the inadequate number of works in English, but also because every center that provides academic training on Lusophone Africa in the United States requires that its students acquire a minimum knowledge of the Portuguese language for research purposes. Ethnographic and social works and scientific studies of Mozambique (such as detailed geographies) are alarmingly rare, as reflected in the listings below. On the other hand, history and political science students are better served at present. Also, the number of articles in periodicals has increased by leaps and bounds since the 1960s.

Two general bibliographical sources were particularly useful in the preparation of this manuscript, namely, Susan Jean Gowan's Portuguese-Speaking Africa. Vol. 2: Mozambique (Braamfontein, South Africa: S. S. Institute of International Relations, 1982) and Colin Darch's (with Calisto Pacheleke) World Bibliographical Series Vol. 78, Mozambique (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC Clio Press, 1987). Jill Dias' bibliographical listings in the Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos (vols. 1-7) are also extremely useful along with a few others available at African Studies Centers.

Aspiring researchers and scholars needing primary sources will have to visit the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Overseas Historical Archives) in Lisbon, the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de

Lisboa (the Library of the Geographic Society of Lisbon) in Lisbon, the Arquivo Histórico Militar (Historical Military Archives) in Lisbon, the Public Record and Foreign offices in London, and the Arquivo Histórico de Moçambique in Maputo. Unfortunately, the Maputo archives are incomplete. A massive project is underway to photocopy all sources on Mozambique housed at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. In the United States, the Library of Congress and several African Studies Centers provide a variety of sources including works in Portuguese. For students in the Southern Belt, the University of Virginia, Duke University and University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill combined, and the University of Florida at Gainesville house excellent collections and periodicals for casual articles and serious research manuscripts on Mozambique during the researcher's preliminary stages.

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APPENDIX A

MOZAMBIQUE CAPTAINS AND GOVERNORS (1501-1975)*

Sofala

Capitães-Mores

1501-1505	Sancho de Tova
1505-1506	Pedro da Naia
1506	Manuel Fernandes
1506-1507	Nunho Vaz Pereira

Sofala and Mozambique

Capitães-Mores

1507-1508	Vasco Gomes de Abreu
1508-1509	Rui de Brito Patalim
1509-1514	António de Saldanha
1512-1515	Simão de Miranda de Azevedo
1515-1518	Cristóvão de Távora
1518-1520	Sancho de Tovar
1521-1524	Diogo de Sepúlveda
1525-1528	Lopo de Almeida
1528-1531	António da Silveira de Meneses
1531-1538	Vicente Pegado
1538-1541	Aleixo de Sousa Chicorro
1541-1548	João de Sepúlveda
1548-1551	Fernão de Sousa de Távora
1552-1553	Diogo de Mesquita
1554-1557	Diogo de Sousa
1558-1560	Sebastião de Sá
1560-1564	Pantaleão de Sá
1564-1567	Jerónimo Barreto
1567-1569	Pedro Barreto Rolim

*According to my sources, Serpa Pinto served temporarily as Governor-General in 1899, and João de Azevedo Coutinho also occupied the position briefly in 1904.

MozambiqueCaptains-General

1569-1573	Francisco Barreto
1573-1577	Vasco Fernandes Homem
1577-1582	Pedro de Castro
1583-1586	Nunho Velho Pereira
1588-1589	Jorge Telo de Meneses
1589-1590	Lourenço de Brito
1591-1595	Pedro de Sousa
1595-1598	Nunho da Cunha e Ataíde
1598-1601	Alvaro Abranches
1601-1604	Vasco de Mascarenhas
1604-1607	Sebastião de Macedo
1607-1609	Estevado de Ataíde

Mozambique, Sofala, Rios De Cuama, and MonomotapaGovernors

1609-1611	Nunho Alvares Pereira
1611-1612	Estevado de Ataíde
1612	Diogo Simões de Madeira
1612-1614	João de Azevedo
1614-1618	Rui de Melo Sampaio
1619-1623	Nunho Alvares Pereira
1623	Nunho da Cunha
1623-1624	Lopo de Almeida
1624-1627	Diogo de Sousa de Meneses
1628-1631	Nunho Alvares Pereira
1631-1632	Cristóvão de Brito e Vasconcelos
1632-1633	Diogo de Sousa de Meneses
1633-1634	Filipe de Mascarenhas
1635-1639	Lourenço de Souto-Maior
1639-1640	Diogo de Vasconcelos
1640-1641	António de Brito Pacheco
1641-1642	Francisco da Silveira
1643-1646	Júlio Moniz da Silva
1646-	Fernão Dias Baial
1649-1651	Alvaro de Sousa de Távora
1652	Francisco de Mascarenhas
1653-1657	Francisco de Lima
1657-1661	Manuel Corte-Real de Sampaio
1661-1664	Manuel de Mascarenhas
1664-1667	António de Melo e Castro
1667-1670	Inácio Sarmento de Carvalho
1670-1673	João de Sousa Freire
1673-1674	Simão Gomes da Silva
1674	André Pinto da Fonseca
1674-1676	Manuel da Silva

1676-1682	João de Sousa Freire
1682-1686	Caetano de Melo e Castro
1686-1689	Miguel de Almeida
1689-1692	Manuel dos Santos Pinto
1692-1693	Tomé de Sousa Correia
1694	Francisco Correia de Mesquita
1694-1695	Estêvão José da Costa
1696	Francisco da Costa
1696-1699	Luís de Melo Sampaio
1699-1703	Jacome de Morais Sarmento
1703-1706	João Fernandes de Almeida
1706-1707	Luís de Brito Freire
1708-1712	Luís Gonçalves de Câmara
1712-1714	João Fernandes de Almeida
1714-1715	Francisco de Mascarenhas
1716-1719	Francisco de Souto-Maior
1719-1721	Francisco de Alarcão e Souto-Maior
1722-1723	Alvaro Caetano de Melo e Castro
1723-1726	António João Sequeira e Faria
1726-1730	António Cardim Frois
1730-1733	António Casco de Melo
1733-1736	José Barbosa Leal
1736-1739	Nicolau Tolentino de Almeida
1740-1743	Lourenço de Noronha
1743-1746	Pedro do Rego Barreto da Gama e Castro
1746-1750	Caetano Correia de Sá

Mozambique, the Zambesi, and Sofala Governors

Captains-General

1752-1758	Francisco de Melo e Castro
1758	João Manuel de Melo
1758	David Marques Pereira
1758-1763	Pedro de Saldanha e Albuquerque
1763-1765	João Pereira da Silva Barba
1765-1779	Baltasar Manuel Pereira do Lago
1779-1780	José de Vasconcelos e Almeida
1781-1782	Vicente Caetano de Maia e Vasconcelos
1782-1783	Pedro de Saldanha e Albuquerque
1783-1786	(junta)
1786-1793	António Manuel de Melo e Castro
1793-1797	Diogo de Sousa Coutinho
1797-1801	Francisco Guedes de Carvalho Meneses da Costa
1801-1805	Isidro de Almeida Sousa e Sá
1805-1807	Francisco de Paula de Albuquerque do Amaral Cardoso
1807-1809	(junta)
1809-1812	António Manuel de Melo e Castro de Mendonça
1812-1817	Marcos Caetano de Abreu e Meneses
1817-1818	José Francisco de Paula Calvacanti de Albuquerque

1819-1821	João da Costa Brito Sanches
1821-1824	(juntas)
1824-1825	João Manuel da Silva
1825-1829	Sebastião Xavier Botelho
1829-1832	Paulo José Miguel de Brito
1832-1834	(junta)
1834-1836	José Gregório Pegado

Mozambique

Governors-General

1837	António José de Melo
1837-1838	João Carlos Augusto de Oeynhausén e Gravenburg Marques de Aracaty
1838-1840	(council)
1840-1841	Joaquim Pereira Marinho
1841-1843	João da Costa Xavier
1843-1847	Rodrigo Luciano de Abreu e Lima
1847-1851	Domingos Fortunato do Vale
1851-1854	Joaquim Pinto de Magalhães
1854-1857	Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Meneses
1857-1864	João Tavares de Almeida
1864-1867	António do Canto e Castro
1867-1868	António Augusto de Almeida Portugal Correia de La- cerda
1869	António Tavares de Almeida
1869	Fernão da Costa Leal
1870-1873	José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral
1874-1877	José Guedes de Carvalho e Meneses
1877-1880	Francisco Maria da Cunha
1880-1881	Augusto César Rodrigues Sarmento
1881-1882	Carlos Eugénio Correia da Silva, Visconde de Paço de Arcos
1882-1885	Agostinho Coelho
1885-1889	Augusto Vidal de Castilho Barreto e Noronha
1889-1890	José António de Brissac das Neves Ferreira
1890-1891	Joaquim José Machado
1891-1893	Rafael Jacome Lopes de Andrade
1893-1894	Francisco Teixeira da Silva
1894-1895	Fernão de Magalhães e Meneses
1895-1896	António José Enes
1896-1897	Joaquim Augusto Mousinho de Albuquerque
1897-1898	Baltasar Freire Cabral
1898	Carlos Alberto Schultz Xavier
1898-1900	Alvaro António da Costa Ferreira
1900	Júlio José Marques da Costa
1900	Joaquim José Machado
1900-1902	Manuel Rafael Gorjão
1902-1905	Tomás António Garcia Rosado

1905-1906	João António de Azevedo Coutinho Fragoso de Sequeira
1906-1910	Alfredo Augusto Freire de Andrade
1910-1911	José de Freitas Ribeiro
1911-1912	José Francisco de Azevedo e Silva
1912-1913	José Afonso Mendes de Magalhães
1913-1914	Augusto Ferreira dos Santos
1914-1915	Joaquim José Machado
1915	Alfredo Baptista Coelho
1915-1918	Alvaro Xavier de Castro
1918-1919	Pedro Francisco Massano do Amorim
1919-1921	Manuel Moreira da Fonseca
1921-1923	Manuel de Brito Camacho
1923-1924	Manuel Moreira da Fonseca
1924-1926	Vitor Hugo de Azevedo Coutinho
1926-1938	José Ricardo Pereira Cabral
1938-1940	José Nunes de Oliveira
1940-1947	José Tristão de Bettencourt
1947-1958	Gabriel Maurício Teixeira
1958-1961	Pedro Correia de Barros
1961-1964	Manuel Maria Sarmento Rodrigues
1964-1968	José Augusto da Costa Almeida
1968-1970	Baltasar Rebelo de Sousa
1970	Gouveia e Melo (interim governor)
1970-1971	Eduardo de Arantes e Oliveira
1971-1974	Manuel Pimentel dos Santos
1974	David Teixeira Ferreira (interim governor)
1974	Henrique Soares de Melo
1974-1975	Vitor Crespo

Sources: António Oliveira Marques, História de Portugal, Vol. III (Lisboa: Palas Editores, 1981), pp. 622-24 and David Henige, Colonial Governors (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), pp. 251-53.

APPENDIX B

THE MOZAMBIQUE GOVERNMENT (JULY 1988)

Head of State

President of the Republic and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces: Joaquim Alberto Chissano

Council of Ministers

Prime Minister and Minister of Planning: Mário da Graça Machungo.

Minister for Foreign Affairs: Pascoal Manuel Mocumbi.

Minister of National Defence: Lt-Gen. Alberto Joaquim Chipande.

Minister of the Interior: Manuel José António.

Minister of the National People's Security Service: Mariano De Araújo Matsinhe.

Minister in the President's Office for Administration: José Oscar Monteiro.

Minister of Co-operation: Maj.-Gen. Jacinto Soares Veloso.

Minister of Justice: Osumane Ali Dauto.

Minister of Finance: Abdul Magid Osman.

Minister of Education: Graça Simbine Machel.

Minister of Information: Teodato Mondim da Silva Hunguana.

Minister of Health: Leonarda Simão.

Minister of Mineral Resources: João Kachamila.

Minister of Construction and Water: João Mário Salomão.

Minister of Trade: Manuel Aranda da Silva.

Minister of Culture: Luís Bernardo Honwana.

Minister of Labour: Aguiar Real Mazula.

Minister of Industry and Energy: António José Lima Rodrigues Branco.

Minister of Transport and Communications: Lt-Gen. Armando Emílio Nuno Gundana.

Deputy Minister for Defence and Chief of General Staff of the Armed Forces: Gen. António Hama Thai.

Ministries

Office of the President: Avda Julius Nyerere, Maputo; tel. 741121; telex 6243.

Ministry of Agriculture: Avda Acordos de Lusaka, Maputo; tel. 21071; telex 6209.

Ministry of Education and Culture: Avda 24 de Julho 167, Maputo; tel. 743349.

Ministry of Finance: Praça 25 de Junho, CP 272, Maputo; tel. 25071; telex 6569.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs: Avda Julius Nyerere 4, Maputo; tel. 744061; telex 6418.

Ministry of Foreign Trade: Praça 25 de Junho, Maputo; tel. 26091; telex 6374.

Ministry of Health: Avdas Eduardo Mondlane e Salvador Allende, Maputo; tel. 30814; telex 6329.

Ministry of Home Trade: Avda 25 de Setembro 1018, Maputo; tel. 24134; telex 6253.

Ministry of Industry and Energy: Avda 25 de Setembro 1184-92, Maputo; tel. 741087; telex 6235.

Ministry of Information: Avda Amílcar Cabral 112, Maputo; tel. 740945; telex 6487.

Ministry of the Interior: Avda da Anchieta 46/48, Maputo; tel. 20130; telex 6419.

Ministry of Justice: Avda Julius Nyerere 33, Maputo; tel. 744646; telex 6594.

Ministry of National Defence: Avda Mártires de Mueda, Maputo; tel. 742081; telex 6331.

Ministry of the National People's Security Service: Maputo.

Ministry of Planning: Avda Ahmed S. Toure 21, Maputo; tel. 741054; telex 6398.

Ministry of Ports, Railways and Merchant Marine: Rua Timor Leste 95, Maputo; telex 6482.

Ministry of Posts, Telecommunications and Civil Aviation: Avda Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo; telex 6595.

Ministry of State for the Presidency: Avda Mártires de Mueda, Maputo; tel. 741081; telex 6485.

Provincial Governors

Cabo Delgado Province: António Simbine.

Gaza Province: Francisco João Pateguana.

Inhambane Province: José Pascoal Zandamela.

Manica Province: Raimundo Bila.

Nampula Province: Jacob Nyambir.

Niassa Province: Júlio Ntchola.

Sofala Province: Francisco Masquil.

Tete Province: Cadmiel Muthemba.

Zambezia Province: Carlos Agostinho do Rosário.

City of Maputo: Alberto Massavanhame.

Source: Africa South of the Sahara 1989. London: Europa Publishers, 1989, p. 728.

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